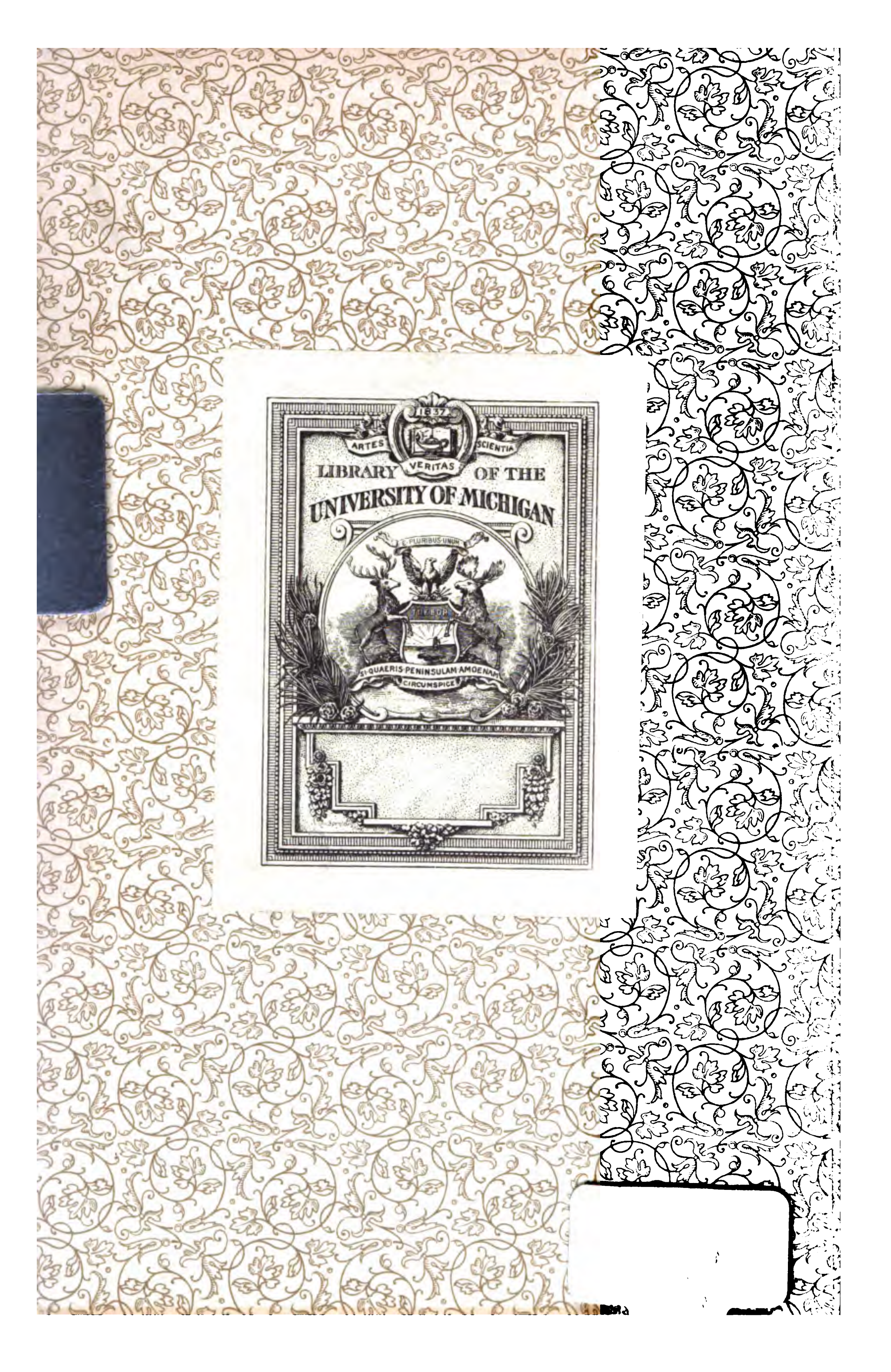


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BONNER BEITRÄGE ZUR ANGLISTIK
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON PROF. DR. M. TRAUTMANN.
HEFT VI.

The Wallace and The Bruce Restudied.

J. T. T. Brown.

Omnia Explorate.

Bonn 1900.
P. Hanstein's Verlag.

Inscribed
in warm friendship
to

Dr. Moritz Trautmann

Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of Bonn.

The Table.

THE unique manuscript from which the text of all the printed editions of *The Wallace* has been derived[1] is preserved in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh, in a volume which also contains a transcript of *The Bruce* of John Barbour. From the colophons we learn that the same scribe made both copies — *The Wallace* in 1488, *The Bruce* in 1489. These manuscripts as well as another of *The Bruce* now in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge, will be noticed later on: at present our attention will be confined to some minor points, relevant to the main question about to be discussed, but more conveniently dealt with by themselves in an introductory chapter. I propose to notice these briefly under the heads, vizt. (1) The Bibliography of *The Wallace*, and (2) The influence of the poem on general historic studies relating to the Wallace period.

§ 1. According to Dr. Moir, the latest editor, *The Wallace* passed through more editions before 1800 than any other Scottish book.[2] There are good grounds for believing it to have been one of the works issued by Myllar & Chepman, the pioneer printers of Scotland, in or soon after the year 1508.[3] A second edition appeared in 1570; a third in 1594. Since 1601 it has been published at least fifteen times — nine times in the XVIIth., three times in the XVIIIth., and three times in the present century. The apparent wane in popularity after the XVIIth. century is easily explainable. All the editions referred to followed, or at any rate professed to follow, the text of the Edinburgh manuscript. But by the year 1700 the assimilation of the literary language of Scotland to that of England was nearly complete, and the vernacular

[1] Not excepting the edition of 1570 which, as Dr. Moir shews, is merely a version edited "by a Protestant" to suit post Reformation readers. Wallace, Introd. 19.

[2] Wallace, Introd. 13.

[3] Gologras, Introd. p. 3.

of the XVth. century presented considerable difficulties to every one except the professed antiquary. What Hart the printer said of his edition of *The Bruce* in 1616 would have been even truer of *The Wallace* any time after 1700 — 'It is an olde monument: if it spake our language it would not bee it selfe: yet as an antique it is venerable'. In short it was slowly passing out of practical existence into what a distinguished living critic has called 'the Chelsea Hospital of antiquarian publication.'

But it was destined to receive a new lease of life in 1722. In that year a well known minor poet, William Hamilton of Gilbertfield, Cambuslang, in order to render 'the original copy intelligible'[1] published a modernised version in the heroic couplet then rendered fashionable by Pope. The work — at best only a loose paraphrase of the original — notwithstanding much hostile criticism, captured 'the simple villages' and in 'the poor and private cottages' became a treasured classic. At least twenty editions have appeared since 1722.

Thirty eight editions during a period of about 380 years, sufficiently attest the uncommon popularity of the poem in Scotland.

§ 2. There can be little doubt that the personality of Sir William Wallace was deeply impressed in the memory of his contemporaries. The rapid growth of legend is itself a proof of the fact. We have not, it is true, any specimen of the 'gret gestis' current in the XIVth. century, but they were known to Wyntoun and in his time had become the property of the nation.[2] It may well be, indeed, that some of the curious additions made by Bower or other continuators of *The Scotichronicon*, to the meagre but sober narrative of Fordun, are nothing else than fragments rendered into Latin prose, of early chansons or ballads. But the true Wallace cult only found fit expression when, in the fulness of time a poet, gathering up the mass of floating traditions, essayed in the 'gret buke' foreshadowed by Wyntoun, to sing the 'dedis of prys and manhod' of the national hero. The poet according to the common tradition was a minstrel familiarly

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[1] Hamilton, pref.
[2] Wyntoun, B viii. ch xv. 2300.

known to his contemporaries as Blynd Harry:[1] the book was *The Wallace* the subject of this study.

For the student *The Wallace* possesses a twofold interest. Regarded either as a popular poem or as an historical document its influence has been immense. For centuries it attracted at one and the same time an uncritical and a critical audience. To the common people it came as a 'tale to hold children from play and old men from the chimney corner', presenting the portrait of Sir William Wallace that they wished; to the historical writers, as a chronicle, full of facts and picturesque incidents, requiring on the part of the reader only a certain critical aptitude for discerning the truth under the disguises which concealed it in the romantic narrative of the poet. During the long period of four hundred years its right to rank as an historical document has been seriously challenged by Lord Hailes alone. In the *Annals of Scotland* published in 1769 we find him describing Blind Harry in one place as 'an author whom every historian *copies* yet whom no historian but Sir Robert Sibbald will venture to *quote*', in another as 'an author who either knew not history or who meant to falsify it' — two out of many appreciations which leave us in no doubt whatever about his opinion.[2] But while the scrutinising scepticism of Hailes unquestionably influenced later writers and put them all more or less on their guard against uncertain evidence it never wholly succeeded in checking the eclecticism against which it was a protest. Indeed the ancient canon, in rebus tam antiquis si quae similia veri sint pro veris accipiantur, indicates quite as accurately the attitude of Tytler, Stevenson and Hill Burton as it does that of John Major and other fifteenth century historians. A few quotations from the works of the three most eminent recent Scottish historians will make this all the clearer.

First let us hear Tytler's vindication of Blynd Harry as an historian. 'Some late researches' he says 'and an attentive perusal of the poem, comparing it as I went along with con-

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[1] Strictly speaking the Christian name ought to be Hary according to Scottish usage, (the *a* pronounced as the *a* in *Say* but the English spelling and pronunciation are now almost always followed.

[2] Hailes Vol ii. 269 und 319.

temporary documents, have placed the *Life of Wallace* in a different light. I am persuaded that it is the work of an ignorant man who was yet in possession of valuable and authentic materials. On what other supposition can we account for the fact, that whilst in one page we meet with errors which shew a deplorable perversion of history, in the next we find circumstances unknown to other Scottish historians yet corroborated by authentic documents, by contemporary English annalists and by national muniments and records only published in modern times and to which the minstrel cannot be supposed to have had access.'

Next in order comes Stevenson. The criticism of *The Wallace* by Lord Hailes, he tells us 'appears to have had the effect desired by his lordship, that namely, of condemning it as an historical document. Since that time, whoever has had the hardihood to quote Blind Harry has been regarded as deficient in judgement and critical information with respect to the sources of Scottish history; as one in short not acquainted with the results of modern investigation. This conclusion, it appears to the editor, has been arrived at with precipitancy and without due examination. Had the question been proposed by his lordship as one worthy of fuller investigation than it had received, instead of sentence of condemnation being pronounced so sweepingly, we should probably ere this time have had the matter discussed quietly and dispassionately, and the public would have gained instead of having lost by the keenness of his lordship's mental vision. Certain errors in names and in chronology were detected: every one must admit that they are errors and gross errors too: but is it a fair inference, because some errors are found in a poem, containing several thousands of lines, written by a blind and ignorant versifier, and in a poem, too, handed down for a long period by recitation, that the whole is utterly worthless? The present collection of documents places this subject in a new and interesting position: for it shows us that those very particulars which from their romantic character were supposed to be fictitious and which contributed to throw discredit upon the whole production are in reality genuine and authentic history. And this may perhaps induce some one, who has leisure for the task, to devote a few hours of that leisure to the com-

position of 'An Inquiry into the genuineness and authenticity of the poem called *The Wallace*.'[1]

Lastly we shall cite Hill Burton who, after mildly censuring Tytler for his too great use of the poem, writes thus: 'Among the many who have chronicled his (Wallace's) fame, Harry the blind minstrel is pre-eminent in having devoted his whole force to the glorifying of his hero. Harry was a blind wandering minstrel, but he belonged to the days when his craft might be that of a gentleman; and while he addressed the commonalty, to rouse their patriotic ardour, he was received at great men's tables. He deals with events, however, which were two hundred years old when he sang them: he had no authority but tradition, and history must receive his stories with much jealousy. Many of them, indeed, are practically impossible, or deal with supernatural agencies: and they are valuable not as narratives of facts, but as the things which the people of Scotland delighted to hear about the hero of their idolatry. Still it has to be said that incidentally from time to time little morsels of evidence have turned up serving curiously to confirm the fundamentals of some of his stories.'[2]

All three writers it is evident admit that before *The Wallace* can be used as an authority its value must be tested and its character ascertained; and they appear to have satisfied themselves, after examination, that it is entitled to at least partial credit. The inquiry desiderated by Stevenson, Tytler even seems to have anticipated; at any rate he arrived at his conclusion by following a line of investigation similar to what Stevenson suggests. The question therefore is, whether the tests hitherto applied by historians have been searching enough, trustworthy or complete. Can we accept them as conclusive? Now it appears to me that mere comparison of the poem with contemporary documents will never determine the question of documentary value requiring to be solved. It may perhaps shew the poet to have been in possession of authentic and reliable materials but even if it does it will not prove the poem to be an original source of history. We cannot

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[1] Stevenson, Introd. 2.

[2] Hill Burton Vol. 11. 183.

acquiesce in any conclusions arrived at by such method without subjecting them to fresh examination by some sounder test. The real question that has to be answered is not how much of true history is preserved in the poem but rather this: are we to treat the poet's statements on matters relating to the period of Sir William Wallace, as derived from original authorities no longer extant: or was his information concerning events in the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries derived merely from sources as accessible to ourselves as they were to him? And further, is it a literary epic composed in the fifteenth century by a poet whose taste and style were influenced by the writings of many poets before him; a poet intimately acquainted with the historical and antiquarian literature suitable to his design and who composed for cultivated readers who would feel the more recondite charms of style and understand the literary allusions? A literary appreciation that restores the poem to its original significance will alone settle conclusively its place as a chronicle and clear up the crux of the historians. But the literary critics, by not grasping the true issue, have all in greater or less degree failed to understand the poem. They too, busying themselves like the historical writers, in trying to gather grains of truth in the romantic narrative have all the while neglected to open their eyes to look closely at the work itself for a plain account of its lineage. 'Both Blind Harry and his poem are something of a conundrum' — the latest pronouncement[1] — sums up in brief the grand results of a century of criticism of a host of writers, who without attempting to get behind the book, have dissipated their strength in controversy concerning the poet's station in life, the tradition about his congenital infirmity, his education or want of education, and such like isolated points.

An independent examination, following strictly the accepted principles of interpretation, has seemed to me to throw new light on the poem and to give a new meaning to it, important alike for historical study and purely literary criticism. In its main result, by establishing *The Wallace* on a surer basis, it will, I believe, be found to be a constructive criticism,

[1] Henderson p. 64.

even though, occasionally and incidentally, it be destructive of many traditional opinions.

In stating the argument I shall deal (1) with the historical and (2) with the intrinsic evidence — endeavouring, to the best of my ability, to bring forward fairly the salient facts and, as far as possible, to present the materials from which a judgement may be formed on the questions discussed.

I. The External Evidence.

Concerning Blind Harry.

A few scattered entries in the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland,* a stanza of the anonymous poem entitled *Ane Little Interlude of the Droichis Part of the Play,* a single line in Dunbar's *Lament for the Makars* and a short passage in John Major's *History of Greater Britain* are all the materials available in documents earlier in date than 1521, for a biography of Blynd Harry. These, however, when brought together and looked at collectively furnish, as far as they go, an account more trustworthy than what we possess for most of the Scottish poets of the same period.

Let us examine them in chronological order.

1. In the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* for the period between New Years Day 1490 and New Years Day 1491 there are five entries.

fol. 39. A. D. 1490:

Item, on Monnunda the xxvi da of April in Stirling to the King vi angelis and a half: summa	vii li. xiv s.
Item on Thyisda the xxvii da Aprill to the cobill man of Cambuskynnell qhen the king past owre	v. s.
Item the saim da, at the Kingis commande to Blinde Hary[1]	xviii. s.
Item on New ȝere da the first da of Januar to the trumpatis v. unicornis	iiii li. x s.
Item to Quhyg and Jok trumpat	xviii. s.
Item to John of Wardlaw and Wilȝeam myne eme	xxxvi s.
Item to the portaris	xxxvi s.
Item to Jame Lam of the Kingis pantre	xxxvi s.
Item to the isschares of the haw dure	xviii s.

[1] Accounts L. H. T. p. 133.

Item to Blind Hary[1]	xviii s.
Item to Berclaw	xviii s.

A. D. 1491:

Item the V° Aprill to Johne of Wardlaw and Wilzeame myne eme	xxxvi s.
Item to the trumpatis iiii unicornis	iii li. xii s.
Item to Blind Hary[2]	xviii s.
Item to Bennat	xviii s.
Item til a harper	xviii s.
Item the xiiii° *September to Blind Hary at the Kingis command*[3]	v. s.
Item on Monnunda the ii° Januar to Schir Thomas Galbretht Jok Goldsmyth and Crafurd for the singyn of a ballat to the King in the morning iii unicornis	ii li. xiiii s.
Item to Blind Hary[4]	ixs.
Item to Martyn McBretne, clareschaw	xs.
Item till ane oder Ersche clareschaw	vs.

2. The stanza of *Ane Littill Interlud of the Droichis Part of the Play* is as follows: —[5]

Hary, Hary hobillschowe!
Se quha is cummyn nowe —
But I wait nevir howe;
With the quhorle wynd.
A Soldane owt of Seriand,
A gyand strang for to stand,
That with the strength of my hand
Beres may bind.
ȝit I trowe that I wary,
I am the nakit blynd Hary,
That lang has bene in the fary,
Farleis to find.

3. The verse of the *Lament for the Makars,* — a poem printed by Myllar and Chepman in 1508 — containing the reference to Harry is the following: —[6]

He has Blind Hary et Sandy Traill
Slaine with his schour of mortall haill
Quhilk Patrik Johnstoun myght nought fle
Timor mortis conturbat me

and

4. The passage in John Major's *History* (Book IV ch. 15) published at Paris in 1521 reads thus: „A complete book on

[1] Ibid. p. 174. [2] Ibid. p. 176.
[3] Ibid. p. 180. [4] Ibid. p. 184.
[5] Early Scot. Poetry, Laing p. 12 (Asloan text). [6] Dunbar p. 50.

William Wallace, Henry, blind from his birth, fashioned in the time of my childhood, and what things were used to be reported, put together in popular verse, in which he was skilled. To such writings, however, I give only partial credit. By the recitation of the gests before noblemen he obtained his meed of food and raiment.'[1]

Now, these biographical data, it should be observed, are perfectly consistent with each other: they are besides independent testimonies. Dunbar and Major agree in regarding Harry as a poet. Major's statements that Harry put together in popular verse the things commonly reported about Wallace and obtained food and raiment by reciting gests before men of rank obtain a certain corroboration from the entries in the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* and also from *Ane Littill Interlud of the Droichis Part of the Play.* For, every one who has noted in the Royal Household Accounts the many doles like those given to 'Wallass that tellis the gestis to the King' and to 'Wedderspune that tald talis to the King' will readily believe Harry to have been one of the same class who contributed to the mirth making at Court. The *Littill Interlud* seems to belong to some lost masque or play performed before the Magistrates of Edinburgh (vide stanzas 3 and 17) in which a dwarf personating Blynd Harry was brought in. After introducing himself as a 'Sultan from Syria, a giant that by the strength of his own hand could bind bears' he goes on to say that he 'warrants himself to be the naked Blynd Harry who has long been on the road in quest of strange stories'. *Fary* or *faré* is simply *way*, *road*, *journey*; and Major's *quae vulgo dicebantur* exactly corresponds to the 'farleis' or wonderful stories of the prowess of Wallace, floating in tradition and picked up by the way by the wandering minstrel.

The humble rank of Harry is scarcely open to doubt. I am not aware that it has ever been remarked that his domicile appears to have been in or near Linlithgow. At any rate

[1] Integrum librum Guillelmi Vallacei Henricus, a nativitate luminibus captus, meae infantiae tempore cudit: et quae vulgo dicebantur carmine vulgari, in quo peritus erat, conscripsit (ego autem talibus scriptis solum in parte fidem impertior) qui historiarum recitatione coram principibus victum et vestitum quo dignus erat, nactus erat. Lib. IV. Ch. 15. fol. LXXIII.

the royal largesse was made to him on every occasion at Linlithgow when the young monarch came to reside at the Palace there.

The birth year of John Major being unknown renders it impossible to fix the period of his 'infancy'. If, however, as has been generally supposed he was about seventy years of age in 1547 when he died, then Blind Harry would be correctly placed among the poets who flourished c. 1475 which also accords with known facts.

The explicit statement that Harry was blind from his birth is so far confirmed by what is found in all the references to him. He is invariably mentioned as *Blynd* Harry and never by surname, the blindness being essentially his characteristic designation as well among contemporaries as in the succeeding century. Hector Boyes in his History says little regarding the national hero William Wallace and nothing at all either about Blynd Harry or his gests, but Bellenden in his well-known paraphrase of that History amplifies the original and concludes his chapter with a tag of his own in the terms following:—

> Of this matere quha likis for to luke
> There sal ye fynd into Blind Hareis buke
> The fassoun al declairit at gret length:
> I can nocht say gif it has ony strength
> Of suthfastnes or yet of verité;
> Therefore as now I lat al sic thingis be.

But the external evidence before it can be received, clear and precise as it seems to be both in Major and Bellenden, touching Harry's authorship, has still to be tested by the internal evidence of *The Wallace*. For, historical or external evidence is no more than a presumption that is doubtful or that may even be erroneous: it is always at most an argument that requires further argument to support it. In short it must be explained by and be consistent with the internal evidence.

Let us pass therefore to consider the poem itself, having the external evidence as the basis of our enquiry.

II. The Internal Evidence.

General Characteristics of *The Wallace*.

No two readers setting out to examine the intrinsic characteristics of *The Wallace* with a view to determining the question of the authorship are likely to follow identical lines of investigation or to accumulate exactly the same kind of evidence. A poem of such considerable length will suggest to one critic special tests of grammar, diction, rime or versification; to another a close scrutiny of its relation to earlier and contemporaneous literature, historical and antiquarian; to a third something else. The field of possible enquiry is far too wide for any one critic to explore exhaustively. The most that may be hoped for is to be able to contribute examples of the evidence which will render possible definite and certain conclusions.

In this chapter we shall begin by noting some of the general characteristics of the poem.

As transmitted in the unique manuscript, it is divided into eleven Books,[1] the First having a prologue of 182 lines, the Eleventh an Envoy of 16 lines. Throughout the Chapters or Books there are frequent references in one place to incidents and episodes in another. Sometimes, as in Book I., the author anticipates: for example, where he refers to the burning of the Barns of Ayr as told 'forther in the taile' — that incident being narrated at length in Book VII. At other times he repeats a fact, adding by way of reminder a phrase 'as I yow tald' or words to the like effect. Or again, as in the case of the truce made with Percy (Book II) — a turning point in the story — we often find in the course of the narrative, allusions that assume on the part of the reader a knowledge of what has gone before. Superficial things like these plainly enough indicate the organic structure of the composition. When, however, the poem has been read carefully from beginning to end it becomes evident that we are not dealing with a mere chronicle of the War of Independence but with a literary production of higher order, with a work,

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[1] The exceeding length of B IX seems to me to suggest that it is made up of two books and that the poem was probably planned originally as an epic of twelve books.

indeed, that must, according to all the accepted criteria, be pronounced an epic poem.

In conception and also in construction it accords with all the canons of that species of poetry. No theme more dignified or more interesting could have been selected by a Scottish poet. The swift national uprising against the English usurpation is presented as one entire and perfect action, the unity being rendered all the more sensible by the skilful pourtrayal of Sir William Wallace as the central figure of the movement. The chronology, it is true, has proved perplexing to historians and literary critics who have failed to see that the work is to be distinguished from history both by its literary form and the liberty of fiction which it assumes. But the moment its epic character is recognised all difficulties disappear. We have it on the highest authority that the truest poetry is the most feigning; and for the dramatic presentation of his theme the author of The Wallace in choosing characters and events sufficiently remote from his own time left himself all the liberty he required for fiction and invention. Judged simply as a poem there is but little fault to be found on the score of the chronology. The action, computed from the attack on young Selby to the execution of Wallace, includes about nine years, that is to say from 1296 to 1305. Beginning with a specific date, 23rd. April, the story is carried through the months and years, all the parts linked together with full connection. The framework, in short, has been deliberately constructed in order to attain not the mere chronological succession of history proper, but rather what Coleridge has called 'the unity of a higher order which connects the events by reference to the workers, gives a reason for them in the motives, and presents men in their causative character'. In the poem, the hero is pourtrayed as a patriot, valorous, tender, magnanimous, stedfast in friendship, but terrible to foes. The few fragmentary facts found in the comparatively late chronicles of Fordun, Wyntoun and Bower — what we may call the true history of Wallace — are blended artistically with popular legends and traditional tales, some of them doubtless the same as those that old Wyntoun knew by report but omitted from his veracious *Cronykil* for another reason than the one he gives — want of 'gud laysere' to write them down. These popular

tales, however, were precisely the materials needed for the machinery of such a poem as *The Wallace.* Without them there could have been no variety of dissimilar and striking episodes. For the true history concerned itself mainly with the public life of the warrior; it knew next to nothing of his private life.

We shall see later on how the poet striving to fashion the story artistically has freely taken hints from the best models of poetic fiction. At present we shall notice only two other characteristics, namely (1) the diction; and (2) the versification.

As regards the diction, Dr. Moir observes that the author 'uses a good many words of French origin and not of common use in this country'. The words of French origin referred to are in great part the same as those included by Dr. J. A. H. Murray in his specimens 'of the large accession made to the vocabulary of the Scottish writers' about the middle of the fifteenth century.[1] From the glossary of the Scottish Text Society's Edition of *The Wallace* a long list of literary words derived from French and Latin might easily be made, but a few examples will suffice for my present purpose. Among others we may notice, (1) Accordiall, Afforme, Affy, agrewit, alya, alyand, aperse, applesyt, aspre, assonȝeit, autor, baille (*flame, love*), bellamy, benyng, benysone, bonalais, bone senȝhour, brewyt (*wrote*), carnaill, cedullis, chemage, cure, cowatice, credence (*credentials*), debonayr, degest, degesteable, demayned, deray, dess, dewgarde, direnȝe, enlumynyt, entré, faboris (*fauxbourgs*), failȝe, fenȝe, gentrice, gyane, gouernal, gouernance, illuminat, lawte, mademe, maugre, maistrice, mansioun, matelent, nevoy, nureis, obligaciounne, plenȝe, plesaunce, randoun, roch, roy, salust, salusyng, souerane, unsouerable, vesyt, vult, wowar (*advocate*) (2) the following law-words, accordis, assyse, ayr, causer, dait (*decree*), delyuerance (*judgement*), doaris (*agents*), dyttay, effeir, endentour, enterdyt, manrent, manesuorne, oppone, proces, racord, resett, somoundis, thesaurair, and (3) the following heraldic and military words, arsone, artailȝe, awblaster, bachiller, bakgard, ballingar, barmkyn, barrace, basnet, bestialls, (*wooden towers*), birny, blasonne, brasaris,

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[1] Murray p. 58.

chewalry, (*horseman*), corslait, cownter-palyss, dissemble (*ungirthed*) doublet, ganȝe, garrettis, gaynȝe, gerit, gorgeat, gowlis, habergione, harnes, maisser, marchell, myddillward, mynouris, ordinance, palȝonis, perseuant, herald, perwyans, pissand, pouncions, pullane, recreant, senȝe, senȝory, spryngaldis, trumpatis, warden. These words nearly all belong to the literary as distinguished from the spoken language. A considerable per centage of them no doubt is found in the works of fourteenth century scholar-poets like Hugh of Eglintoun, John Barbour and Chaucer; but many of the words as Dr. Murray remarks were 'bizarre and incongruous' in the latter half of the fifteenth century and never were able to establish themselves as permanent elements of the Scottish literature. It surely therefore is most remarkable to find such diction in a work supposed to have been written by one of the peasant class, and all the more so when regard is had to the fact that many of the words were only gaining currency at the very time when the poem was written. When, however, the sources of *The Wallace* have been traced the difficulty of explaining the diction will not be so great as at present it may appear to be.

Coming now to the versification, every critical reader will quickly discover that the poet is a craftsman whose verse exhibits both acquired and inherited experience. 'As a mere metrical achievement' says Mr. J. F. Henderson[1] 'the poem is a great advance on Barbour's *Brus* and although Harry is not usually classed as a Chaucerian there can be no doubt that he shared directly or indirectly in the Chaucerian influence. It is significant not merely that for the bulk of his poem he chose the heroic couplet — possibly the earliest extant example of its use in Scotland — but that in two instances in which he varied his metre he made choice of Chaucerian staves introducing in Book II 170—354 a nine line stanza aab—aab—aab (occasionally bab) identical with that of Chaucer's *Compleynte of Faire Anelida upon False Arcyte* and with Dunbar's *Golden Targe*, and at the beginning of Book VI the ballat royal or French octave of three rhymes ab . ab . bc . bc . in its five accented form. Of course Harry

[1] Henderson p. 64.

may have got these metres from another than Chaucer and indeed the ballat royal was in common use in England from the 14 th. century, but Chaucer we know wrote to be publicly 'red' or 'elles songe' and it is not improbable that he was recited if not by Harry at least in Harry's hearing. Anyhow Harry employs the ballat royal in such a manner as to shew that he had an admirable perception of its proper poetic function.' The pity is that Mr. Henderson, trammelled by the traditions concerning Blind Harry, should have spoilt what is excellent and true in his criticism by vainly endeavouring to explain the significant things pointed out by him by resorting to the favourite Procrustean methods of so many of the earlier writers. Except Mr. Henderson, no one has ever suggested that Harry's repertoire included anything more than gests relating to the national hero and it will not, on the merest conjecture, be readily believed either that Harry had heard Chaucer 'red' or himself bad recited Chaucerian pieces before men of rank. Neither is it correct to say that *The Wallace* is 'possibly' the earliest extant example of heroic verse in Scottish literature; it is the earliest example extant; and there is no evidence to shew that that metre was ever used by any earlier Scottish poet. So too where there is the clearest evidence, as we shall see later on there is, of borrowing of whole lines and passages from Chaucer — a fact quite overlooked by editors and literary critics — there need be little hesitation in affirming direct Chaucerian influence as regards the versification. Critics, however, who persistently shut their eyes to the plain intimation of the internal evidence and allow preconceived theories to bias their judgment, need scarcely expect to solve 'conundrums' of which they themselves are unconsciously the only begetters. To them indeed the book will remain, in the strictest Aristotelian sense, 'published and yet not published'.

The epic character of the poem must be left to unfold itself gradually as our examination proceeds; at this preliminary stage it is enough to point out (1) that the organic structure clearly enough shews that the work as we now possess it cannot represent the original form of gests recited by Harry before noblemen; and (2) that both diction and versification negative the idea that the author was, as he has so long been assumed to be, an uneducated man of the peasant class.

The Topography.

Having noted some of the general characteristics of the poem we shall now proceed to consider the geographical knowledge displayed by the poet. As the story is related the exploits of the hero range over a very wide territory comprehending nearly the whole lowlands of Scotland, a considerable tract of country within the Highland line, the northern counties of England, and several provinces of France. The poet's acquaintance with these several areas is remarkable, though unequal. Of the wilds of Lennox and Argyll, for example, he writes like one who knows the country more by report than from actual experience. Not so, however, of the lowlands of Scotland. There he is evidently on very familiar ground. He conducts his hero from one place to another by highways or byways just as occasion requires. Ferries and fords are equally well known to him. He unerringly strikes the way in all his journeyings. He writes like one whose eyes are very wide open indeed.

A few illustrations may be selected almost at random.

In Book I after the account of the slaying of young Selby, son of the Governor of Dundee, we are told how Wallace and his mother fled from the Carse of Gowry to Elderslie. Crossing the ferry 'beside Lindores' they journey 'through the Ochils' reaching Dunfermline in the guise of pilgrims to the shrine of St. Margaret. Setting out again they pass 'attour Forth' arriving at Linlithgow where they rest for a little and proceed to Dunipace. Wallace then goes 'West' to Elderslie.

Books II. III. and IV are concerned with Wallace's sojourn in Ayrshire. A Council is called at Glasgow by Percy, the English Governor, and Sir Ranald Crawford as Sheriff of Ayrshire is summoned to attend. He and Wallace set out from Crosby in Prestwick Parish. The journey is vividly described. A youth with a sumpter horse has gone on before. Wallace and two servants follow at some distance; Sir Ranald and servants bring up the rear. At Hesilden in the Mearns (still the name of a farm) Wallace comes up with his uncle's sumpter and finds the retainers of Percy in the act of taking it for themselves. An altercation ensues and Wallace rides back to Sir Ranald, whom he meets 'at the murside' and to whom

he reports what has happened. The Sheriff makes light of the affair and tries in vain to pacify his nephew who rides off in pursuit of the Englishmen, overtaking them 'be est Cathcart'. Having avenged himself and fearing to remain so 'ner Glascow' where Percy's strength is, Wallace crosses the Clyde by 'a brig of tree' and passes into the Lennox. In that 'wilderness wide' he remained for a few days with Earl Malcolm, proceeding with 60 companions who had joined him there, to a dale 'abounе Lekkie' in Gargunnock parish. Next he assails and captures Gargunnock peel and thereafter, having crossed the Forth, wends his way by the 'strang moss' (*Blair Drummond Moss*) and reaches Kincardine parish in South Perthshire at dusk, lodging for the night, —

> 'In a forest that was bathe lang and wide;
> Rycht fra the moss grew to the wattir side.'

Wallace, we are told, after sundown —

> 'walkit about
> Upon Tetht side'

and next day with his company, forded the river and passed into Strathearn. The Teith it may be observed forms the N. E. boundary of Kincardine parish and is correctly described as 'deep'. From Kincardine they went to Methven Wood *via* Blackford, fording the Allan and the Earn. The countryside around Perth and as far North as Aberdeen is equally well known to the poet; I prefer, however, to select a few examples of his topographical knowledge of Clydesdale and Annandale, districts with which I am better acquainted.

The skirmish at Loudonhill, shews considerable familiarity with Avondale and the ways leading into Clydesdale. When, however, the poet brings Wallace to certain parishes of the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire the particularity of the topography is most remarkable. That he knew Lanark is evident from the fact that he correctly locates the ancient parish church outside the royal burgh. After the slaughter of Hesilrig the hero is made to pass —

> 'On from the Kirk that was without the town'

to the secure retreat of the Cartlane Craigs. From Tinto again, and within a wide radius of that hill, it is as if a native were describing the ground. The rout of the English army at Biggar, a purely fictitious incident, obtains verisimilitude

from the correctness of the description of the battle field. The English retreat to Culterhope; the victorious Scots withdraw to Ropisbog (*Rabsbog* on Wandel Burn about a mile and a quarter above the present mill) and Dawisschaw (*Devonshaw* on the Clyde opposite Roberton, but in Wandel parish). Next day the English retire on Culter to Johns-Green (beside *John's Kirk* in Symington Parish) journeying South by Birkhill above Moffat. Wallace finding the country rid of the enemy advances to Braidwood and convenes a Council at Forestkirk (the ancient name of *Carluke*).

Having Tinto again as a starting point we can see how easily the author transports Wallace to Annandale. Going to Lochmaben Wallace returns by the Knockwood but stays short time there as —

'that wood was neither thick nor long'

and being pursued by the English he wishes to meet them

'right at the skirt of Queensberry'.

He returns by Esdailwood, Corhall and Crawfordsmuir, and from Crawfordjohn —

'rides down the water'

to Crawford, attacking the castle there. In Book IX we find Wallace travelling from Peebles by Clydesdale through the Leadhills into Nithsdale. To help Sir William Douglas the Scottish army proceeds towards Sanquhar and chases the English through Durisdeer and Morton down Nithside to Closeburn, coming up with the fugitives at Dalswintown where they make, some for Lochmaben others for Lochermoss —

'Beside Crouchmaid where fele Sotheroun was slain'.

In this skirmish we hear of the Captains of Enoch and Tibbermuir being slain; of the drowning of many of the enemy in the Solway at Cockpull; and of the strategic movement of the Scots auxiliaries from Caerlaverock to cut off the retreat of the remnant.

A narrative possessing the strong topographical colour that these examples exhibit — examples that might be indefinitely extended — is assuredly not what one expects to find in a work written by a man born blind. It was not by means of his imaginative faculty that the poet obtained the myriad place names for his itineraries. And that being so we must

believe either that he himself knew the districts described or that his information was derived from a manuscript source communicated to him by some friendly person. The second hypothesis is highly improbable. The place names are fitted into the long metrical narrative without the slightest appearance of difficulty. They occur always in strict geographical sequence. Frequently indeed we can discern minute touches intended doubtless to aggrandise the description, and quite unimportant for the story proper, which certainly indicate uncommon knowledge on the part of the narrator.[1]) Nowhere is there anything to suggest that the topographical facts, so far as the Lowlands of Scotland are concerned, are derived at second hand. The case is different as we shall see in the succeeding chapter when the poet quits the familiar ground and transports his hero into the wilds of Argyllshire.

To find himself freer than his neighbour is, as Amiel remarks, the true reward of every critic; and where the literary guides are hopelessly at variance, as they are on the question of Harry's 'feeling for nature', it is perhaps better that each reader of *The Wallace* should exercise for himself his liberty of private judgement. Between Professor Schipper, for example, who doubts the historical testimony about the poet's blindness and thinks if it were true that 'the poem would be the most wonderful phenomenon in literature', and Mr. Henderson who tells us that 'the very general character' of the poet's 'recorded impressions of nature is almost proof positive that he was born blind', there is a clear issue which requires probation. It is certainly not a question that is answered by the mere statement of it; but one rather that demands comparison of proof with proof and presumption with presumption.

Sources of 'The Wallace'.

In this chapter let us examine *The Wallace* in order to discover if possible its relation to earlier and contemporaneous literature, historical and antiquarian. For the sake of clearness

[1] The place name *Crouchmaid* is a good example. Dr. Moir could not identify it. It is not marked on any map so far as I know. It is a little hill in Tinwald parish on the march of Tortherwald. Its identification I owe to my friend Mr. George Neilson.

it will be well to distribute the main masses of the poem between the authors whose works the poet directly used. These may conveniently be classified as (1) direct citations; (2) obvious references or imitations; and (3) allusions and reminiscences.

To begin with the historians. For what we have already called the true history of Sir William Wallace, an author writing in the second half of the XVth. century had two Scottish chronicles ready at hand (1) Wyntoun's *Orygynale Cronykil*, and (2) the *Scotichronicon*, comprising Fordun's *Annals* and Bower's additions to, and continuation of, that work. These, as we shall see, were each used by the poet although without specific acknowledgment.

In going through the poem one meets frequently with phrases 'as cornicle me tellis', 'as corniclis rehers', 'of cornicle what nedis mair' and such like, which indicate clearly enough the kind of sources being used. If the Prologue, for example, be looked at closely between lines 41 and 140 it will be found to be mainly a careful compilation from Wyntoun's *Cronykil*, the *Scotichronicon*, however, being slightly drawn upon. Comparison shews the poet agreeing both in fact and error with Wyntoun and Fordun. That, of course, might only point to a common original, were it not possible by verbal comparison to demonstrate direct copying on the part of the author of *The Wallace.* A passage from Wyntoun and another from *The Wallace* leave us in no doubt about the matter. Placed side by side their agreement is seen to be perfect.

Wyntoun B VIII ch. 13.	The Wallace, B VI. l. 107.
Twelf hundryne nynty yhere and seuyn	Twelff hundreth zer, tharto nynte and sewyn
Fra Cryst wes borne, the kyng of hewyn	Fra Cryst wes born the rychtwis king off hewyn,
Willame Walyays in Clyddisdale,	Wilȝham Wallace in to gud liking gais,
* * * *	* * * * *
	To Lanrik come * * *
	* * * * *
Swa thay made thame on a day	Ane argwnde thaim, as thai went throuch the tovn
Hym for to set in hard assay;	The starkest man that Hesylrig than knew,
Of his lang swerd in that entent	And als he had of lychly wordis ynew.

Fyrst thai made hym argwment
Intil Lanark Inglismen,
Quhare a multitud war gaddyrd then
Ane a tyt made at hys sword.

W. 'Hald stylle thi hand & spek thi worde'
I. 'Wyth thi sword thow mais gret bost'
W. 'Tharefore thi dame made lytil cost'
I. 'Quhat caus has thow to were the grene?'
W. 'No cause bot for to make the tene.'
I. 'Thow suld nocht bere sa fare a knyf,'
W. 'Swa sayd the preyst that swywyd thi wyf;'
'Sa lang he cald that woman fayr'
'Quhill that his barne wes made thi ayre'
I. 'Methink thow drywyw me to scorne'
W. 'Thi dame wes swywd or thow wes borne'
Fra that kest thai na ma wordis;
Bot swne wes tyte owt mony swordys

Into the market of Lanark
Quhare Inglishmen bath stwr & stark,
Fawcht into gret multitud
Agayne Willame Walays gud.
Thare he gave thame dynt for dynt:
Thare wes na strenth, his straik mych stynt.
As he wes in that stowre fechtand,
Fra ane he strak swne the rycht hand:
And fra that carle mycht do na mare,
The left hand held fast the buklare
And he swa mankyd as brayne-wode

He saluist thaim as it war bot in scorn,
'Dewgar, gud day, bone Senzhour & gud morn'
Quhom scornys thow? quod Wallace quha lerd the?

* * * *

'Hald still thi hand', quod he, '& spek thi word'.
'With thi lang suerd thow makis mekill bost'
'Tharoff', quod he, 'thi deme maid liteill cost'.
'Quhat caus has thow to were that gudelye greyne?'
'My maist caus is bot for to mak the teyne'
'Quat suld a Scot do with so fayr a knyff?'
'Sa said the prest that last janglyt thi wyff;'
'That woman lang has tellit him so fair,
'Quhill that his child worthit to be thine ayr.'
'Methink', quod he, 'thow drywys me to scorn'
'Thi deme has beyne japyt or thow was born."
The power than assemblyt thaim about;
Twa hundreth men that stalwarth war & stout.

* * * *

The multitude wyth wappyns burnist beyne.
The worthi Scottis, quhilk cruell was & keyne,
Amang Southerone sic dyntis gaiff that tyd,
Quhill blud on breid byrstyt fra woundis wyd
Wallace in stour was cruelly fechtand;
Fra a Southerone he smat off the richt hand:
And quhen that carle off fechtyng mycht no mar,
With the left hand in ire held a buklar.
Than fra the stowmpe the blud out spurgyt fast,

Kest fast wyth the stwmpe the blode	In Wallace face aboundandlye can out cast;
Intil Willame Walays face.	In to gret part it marryt off his sycht.
Mare cumryd of that blode he was;	* * * *
Than he was a welle lang quhile	The perell was rycht awfull, hard & strang;
Fechtand stad in that peryle	The stour enduryt merwalusly and lang.
The Inglismen gaddryd alsa fast	The Inglismen gaderit fellone fast;
On this Walays, quhill at the last	The worthi Scottis the gait left at the last,
Fra he had wounydt mony thare	Quhen thai had slayne & woundyt mony man,
That agayne hym fechtand ware	Till Wallace in, the gaynest way thai can,
Til hys innys as hym behowyd	Thai passit sune, defendand thaim richt weill;
In gret hy he hym remowyd,	He & Schir James with suerdis stiff of steill.
Defendand hym rycht manlykly;	Behind thair men, quhill thai the ȝett had tayne.
Bot folwyd he wes rycht fellownly.	
Intil the town wes hys lemman	The woman than, quhilk was full will off wayne,
That wes a plesant fayre woman,	The perell saw, with fellone noyis and dyne,
And saw this Willame chassyd swa	Gat up the ȝett and lat them entir in.
Intil hyr hart sho wes rycht wa.	Throuch till a strenth thai passit off that steid,
Scho gat hym wythin the dure;	Fyfty Southeroun upon the gait was dede;
That sowne thai brussyd up in the flure.	This fair woman did besines, & hir mycht,
Than scho gart him prewaly	The Inglismen to tary with a slycht,
Get owt ane other gat tharby:	Quhill that Wallace onto the wod wes past.
And wyth hir slycht scho tayryd than	
His fays, quhill til the wod he wan.	* * * *
The schyrrawe that tyme of the land	
The Kyng of Inglandis lutenand	
Come to Lanark, and thare he	
Gert this woman takyn be,	* * * * * the woman tuk on cace,
And gert hyre sune be put to dede.	Put her to dede I can nocht tell yow how.
That Walays sawe in to that stede,	
In hydlys quhare he stud nere by:	
Tharefore in hart he was hewy.	The paynfull wo socht till his hart full sone;
Than til his frendys alsa fast	* * * * * * *
Intil the land this Walays past,	
And thretty men he gat or ma;	
That ilk nycht he come wyth tha,	
That were manly men and stark,	
Into the town that tyme of Lanark.	To Laynryk toune * * * * * *
And quhare that he wyst the schyrhawe.	Wallace and his to Hesilrige sone past,

Oysyd his innys for til have	In a heich house quhar he was slepand fast:
Intil a loft, quhare that he lay,	Straik at the dure with his fute hardely,
Eftyr mydnycht befor day.	Quhill bar and brais in the flour he gait ly
Wpe he stwrly bruschyd the dure	
And layd it flatlyngis in the flure.	
With that the schyrrawe all agast —	The scherreff cryt, 'Quha makis that gret deray?
Quha is that? than speryd fast.	'Wallace' he said 'that thow has socht all day'.
Sayd William Walays, 'here am I,	
'Will the Walays that besely	
'Thow has set the for to sla.	
'Now togydder mon we ga:	
'The wommanys dede of yhystyrday	'The wommanis dede, will God, thow sall der by'.
'I sall now gwyt, gyf I may.'	Heselrige thocht it was na tyme to ly.
Alsa fast than eftyr that	Out off that hous full fayne he wald haiff beyne.
The schyrrave be the throt he gat	The nycht was myrk, ȝeit Wallace has him seyne,
And that hey stayre he harlyd hym down,	Freschly him straik as he come in gret ire,
And slw hym thare wythin the town.'	Apon the heid, birstit throuch bayne & lyr
	The scherand suerd glaid till his coler bayne,
	Out our the stayr amang thaim is he gayne.

When we proceed a step further the evidence accumulates. As we have remarked the *Orygynale Cronykil* and *Scotichronicon* are nowhere in the poem expressly acknowledged as authorities: but the case is different as regards *The Bruce* of John Barbour. That poem is openly cited more than once. Thus in *The Wallace* (Book XI l. 1212) the poet says —

> 'Off Brucis buk as now I spek no mar,
> Master Barbour quhilk was a worthi clerk
> He said the Bruce amang his other werk'

his 'other werk' being *The Stewartis Origynal*, specially named in the prologue. Likewise in Book VII l. 1291 we are referred to *The Bruce* for an account of the knight Seton one of Wallace's companions —

> 'In this storye ye ma her off him mair
> And in to Bruce quha likis for to rede."

These and other instances of direct citation are obvious to

every reader. It is however only when we study *The Bruce* and *The Wallace* together that we begin to realise fully the extent of the borrowing on the part of the 15th. century poet.

There is to start with very considerable resemblance in the topography of both poems, the main difference being the greater particularity of local details in *The Wallace.* The wanderings of Wallace in the wilds of Argyllshire, for example — for which there is not a vestige of evidence outside the poem — appear to be neither more nor less than an episode suggested by *The Bruce.* In Barbour's account of Bruce's adventures in the Pass of Brandir on Lochaweside, we are told 'how the king slew three men that swore his death' (Book III l. 107)

> 'Thai abaid till that he was
> Entryt in ane narrow place,
> Betwix a louchside and a bra;
> That was sa strait, ik underta,
> That he myeht nocht weill turn his sted.'

and in Book X l. 18, the pass below Ben Cruachan is described as a place so narrow

> 'That twa men sammyn mycht nocht ryde
> In sum place of the hyllis syde.
> The nethir half was perelouss;
> For a schoir crag, hye and hydvouss
> Raucht till the se doun fra the pass.
> On the owthir half ane montane was
> So cumerous and ek so stay
> That it was hard to pass that way.'

The identical locality is described in *The Wallace* (B. VII l. 659) as 'a small passage'.

> 'Betwix a roch and the gret wattir sid'

where not more than

> 'four in front mycht gang nor rid.'

Again in *The Bruce* (B. X l. 53 et seq.) there is a description of a fight in the Pass of Brandir between the Royalists and the retainers of John of Lorne. The highlanders finding themselves outflanked turn and make for a bridge, which they try to break down but are prevented —

> 'To that brig held thai fast thair way
> 'And till brek it can fast assay;
> 'Bot thai that chassit, quhen thai thaim saw
> 'Mak thair arest, bot dred or aw

'Thai ruschit upone thame hardely,
'And discumfit thaim utrely
'And held the brig haill, quhill the king,
'With all the folk of his leding
'Passit the brig all at thair ese.
'Till Johne of Lorne it suld displese.'

Now in *The Wallace* (B. VII l. 651) one notes that a fight is recorded as taking place precisely on the same field — the difference being that the followers of Wallace 'brak the bryg' so that the enemy 'mycht not out-pass' except by the deep and broad river of Awe.

According to Barbour, Bruce twice penetrated the wilds of Argyllshire, once as a fugitive shortly after the defeat at Methven Wood, on another occasion as an invader of John of Lorne's territory. It is evident, however, that the Archdeacon knew almost nothing about the highland country. We hear of 'King Robert's paines among the hey mountains' and how in retreating before John of Lorne, he took 'the way to Lochlomond' and met the Earl of Lennox 'among the hills ner by'. But the descriptions are all so vague that it is quite impossible to trace with certainty the routes followed by the king. In the case of *The Wallace* it is otherwise. The author of that poem, while manifestly having *The Bruce* as his original, seems to have been at some pains to collect place names the better to localise his hero's encounters with 'the small fute folk', and in that way give to his story a degree of verisimilitude greater than anything in the earlier poem. For example 'the brig' at the 'vattir deep and wyde' mentioned by Barbour is in *The Wallace* 'the bryg' over the river 'Avis' (*Awe*)

'Yat was bathe deep and brade'

but it is designated as *Craigunyn* (Craiganuni) the rock at the extremity of the Pass of Brandir. That he was not, any more than Barbour, on familiar ground is shown by the fact that his descriptions of the wilds of Argyllshire and the Lennox are much less particular than when he conducts Wallace through the Lowlands. From Loch Dochart to the Pass of Brandir the intermediate space of ten miles is passed over altogether. But in attempting to render vivid the descriptions of the mountainous defiles of the Lorne country he

commits the one serious error found in the topography of the poem. Wallace is made, coming from the southeast, to enter from Strathfillan into Glen Dochart, whereas Strathfillan, opening from the west end of Glen Dochart towards the northwest, must have been the second of the two places in the succession of the march and could not as it stands in the poem have been the first.[1] The error is easily accounted for if the poet knew the place names of Argyllshire, as is most probable, only at second hand.

The battle of Loudonhill described in *The Bruce* (B. VIII l. 207) has also its exact counterpart in *The Wallace* (B. III l. 100). The field, described in both poems as 'a playn' is again the same. Bruce raises three dykes 'so holl and hye

> 'That men mycht nocht, but mekill pane
> 'Pass thaim';

and, having collected his fighting men, awaits the assault. When the enemy approached we are told that

> 'The sone was rysyn schynand bricht.'

In *The Wallace* strangely enough we hear also of —

> 'A maner dyk of stanys thai had maid
> 'Narrowyt the way quhar throuch thai thikar raid'

and the hour of battle is, as in the Archdeacon's poem, when

> 'The sone was rysyne our landis schinand brycht.'

Again, when we look closely at what Barbour calls 'the interludes and jeopardys' of his story we find that these also have furnished materials to the author of *The Wallace.* Like King Robert, Wallace is tracked by sleuthhounds. In both poems one cannot fail to remark how frequently Bruce and Wallace are succoured by friendly widows whose sons become auxiliaries at critical junctures. Let us, however, at present confine our attention more particularly to two episodes in *The Bruce*, namely the capture of Douglas Castle by Lord James Douglas, and the surprisal of Linlithgow Peel by William Bunnok. These may better be considered together before comparison is made with parallel passages in *The Wallace.*

(1) In Book VIII l. 437, Barbour tells how Douglas Castle was taken by stratagem. Lord James having laid an ambuscade sends fourteen men with sacks full of grass on horses' backs,

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[1] Allan p. 106.

as if proceeding to Lanark Fair.[1] As they pass near to the Castle the garrison apprise the captain, who, supposing that a supply of victual is within reach, orders his soldiers to seize it. Not thinking of any ambuscade they sally forth, —

> 'To wyn the ladis at thai saw pass,
> Quhill that Douglass with his men was
> All betuix thame and the castell,
> The layd-man that persuauit weill;
> Thai cast their ladis down in hy
> And thair gownys deliuerly
> That helit thame, thai kest away,
> And in gret hy thair hors hint thai,
> And stert upon thame sturdely
> And met thair fais with a cry'

Douglass then 'breks his embuschment' and so 'angirly straks on his fayis' —

> 'That of thame all, eschapit none'

(2) In the neighbourhood of Linlithgow, says Barbour, (Book X l. 150) there dwelt one William Bunnok —

> 'That husband wes and with his fee.'
> Oftsiss hay to the peill led he.'

Having resolved, if possible, to capture Linlithgow from the hated English he advised his friends that they —

> 'mycht ane embuschment ma,
> Quhill that he with his vayn suld ga
> Till leid thaim hay in-to the peill;
> Bot his vayn suld be stuffit weill,
> For eight men armyt in the body,
> Of his vayn suld syt preualy,
> And with hay helyt be about,
> And himself, that was dour and stout,
> Suld by the vayn gang ydilly
> And a ȝeoman wicht and hardy
> Befor suld dryf the vayn, and ber
> Ane hachit, that was scharp to scher,
> Under his belt; and quhen the ȝet
> Wes opynyt, and thai war thar-at,
> Quhen he herd hym cry sturdely,
> 'Call all', 'Call all', then hastyly,
> He suld stryk with the ax in twa
> The hede-soyme: than in hy suld thai,
> That var within the vayn, com out
> And mak debait, quhill at thair rout,

[1] Vide note p. —.

> That suld neir by enbuschit be
> Cum for to maytene the mellé.
> This was intill the harvest tyde
> Quhen fieldis that var fair and vyde
> Chargit with corne assouerit var.'

On the morning when the stratagem was carried out —

> 'sum that war within the peill
> War yschet on thair awn unseill
> To win thair harvist neir thar-by'

the capture being in consequence all the easier of accomplishment for Bunnok and his confederates.

Bunnok led his cart under the drawbridge —

> 'An quhen it wes set evinly
> Betuix the chekys of the ȝet
> Swa that men mycht it spar na gat,
> He cryit 'theif! call all! call all!'
> And than he leyt the gadwand fall,
> And hewit in twa the soym in hy.'

Come now to *The Wallace.* In Book IX l. 1597, Sir William Douglas, father of the good Lord James, is the prime mover in the capture of Sanquhar Castle. With thirty five retainers he —

> 'Passit quhar that na Southeron wyst
> With thir thirty throw waistland at his lyst.
> Quhill nycht was cummyn, he bruschit thaim full
> In till a clewch.'

A trusty follower, Tom Dickson, in league with a cousin named Anderson, a native of the district, sometimes employed by the English garrison, contrives the stratagem. Anderson having agreed to lend his dress and also his wain, Dickson threw the carter's smock over his armour and covering his basnet with a bonnet to complete the disguise, drove his cart across the drawbridge.

> 'Anderson ȝeid to the buschement in hy
> Ner the castell he drew thame preualy
> In till a schaw: Southeroun mystraistyt nocht.
> To the next wode, wyth Dycson, syn he socht,
> Graythyt hym a drawcht, on a braid slyp and law,
> Chargyt a hors, and to the hous can caw.'

Having gained entrance Dickson cut —

> 'A thourtour bande that all the drawcht upbar.'

and —

> to ground the slyp can ga,
> Cumryt the ȝet, stekyng thai mycht nocht ma,
> The portar son he hynt in-to that stryff,
> Twyss throuch the hede he stekit him with a knyff,
> The ax he gat, that Anderson off spak;
> A bekyn maid, tharwith the buschement brak.'

The slaughter of the garrison followed.

That episode is partly copied from the Douglas Castle, but partly also from the Linlithgow episode, in Barbour's poem. There are (1) the covering of the armour by the peasant's smock, (2) the ruse of leading merchandise; and (3) the blocking of the Castle entry by the wain. The military tactics of ambuscade are also identical. There is much similarity in diction. But there is even more direct evidence of copying in another episode of *The Wallace.* In Book IX l. 695, there is a graphic account of the Capture of Perth by Wallace. When we have read it we cannot fail to observe the agreement with *The Bruce* as regards the season of the year — 'the later day of August' when 'serwandys oysyt with cartis hay to leid'. For Bunnok's *one* wain with its concealed armed men the fifteenth century poet employs *three* carts, each with five men concealed under the hay.

> 'In ilk cart fyve, thai ordanyt owt off sycht,'
> * * * * *
> Full sutelly thai coueryt thaim with hay,
> Syne to the toun thai went the gaynest way.'

Accompanying each cart are 'two carteris' having

> 'Schort suerdis off gud steill
> Under thar weidis.'

One remarks also the use of the word 'drowry' in the narrative of the capture of Douglas Castle and also in the Perth incident.

Similarities and parallelisms such as these shew that there is the closest relation between the poems.

When the poems are more closely compared it is evident also that the narrative of *The Wallace* at different points has been skilfully adjusted to the narrative of *The Bruce.* The manner in which King Robert the Bruce and his brother Edward Bruce, Sir William Douglas, and Lord James Douglas, Thomas Dickson and Sir Thomas Longueville (Barbour's nameless 'loyal French knight') are each introduced, suggests at once an intimate knowledge of Barbour's poem. But it is

unnecessary to insist on that point for there is better evidence available to shew that many of the characters of *The Wallace* have simply been transferred from *The Bruce.* The fact did not escape the vigilant eye of Mr. Joseph Bain the learned editor of the *Calendar of Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland,* who says, 'where not plagiarised from Barbour much of that curious poem (i. e. *The Wallace*) is mere romance, or treats of people who lived and events which occurred long after Wallace was in his grave. To give a few out of many examples 'auld Rukbe', Governor of Stirling in 1297, slain there by Wallace (Book VII) can be no other than Sir Thomas Rokeby, warden of Stirling in 1307. 'Fehews' brother, 'nephew of the English King', killed before the fabulous battle of Biggar (Book VI), and Fehew himself, slain in Yorkshire (Book VIII), is no doubt Henry Fitzhugh, a Yorkshire baron made prisoner at Bannockburn. Sir Rauf Rymaut, also slain by Wallace (Book VIII) is probably Sir Thomas of Richmond slain at Lintalee by Douglas; and Crawford of Manuel (or Haining) — said in two places (Books VII and XI) to have been made by Wallace captain of Edinburgh Castle — must be Sir William Crawford who held that post for Archibald, Earl of Douglas, about 1409'. Let me add to that list three other examples of the same kind, vizt. the Earl of Gloucester, Gilbert of Umfraville and Cristall of Seton. In *The Bruce* they are all introduced with strict historical accuracy. Not so however in *The Wallace.* Gilbert de Clare and Gilbert de Umfraville appear as the antagonists of Sir William Wallace, Seton as one of his compatriots. Now when we find the Earl of Gloucester described in *Tke Wallace* as the *uncle* of the English King we identify him at once as Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, mentioned by Barbour. He was an *uncle* of Edward II, the opponent of King Robert the Bruce, but he was the *brother in law* of Edward I the enemy of Wallace. And as regards Gilbert de Umfraville of Harbottle we are told in *The Wallace* that he was slain by 'Cristall of Seton' in the English raid under Wallace. That of course according to the true history fixes the date as 1297, but in that year Seton was a minor while the English records prove that Umfraville was living in 1305.

But an intimate knowledge of the chroniclers and of

Barbour is not all. The author of *The Wallace* was also familiar with the Scottish alliterative poem *The Howlat* written c. 1453. The proof of the fact is that he directly alludes to it in Book X l. 135 where Sir James Stewart of Bute voicing the nobles, jealous of Wallace, a commoner, holding the rank of commander in chief —

> 'Unhappyly his taill thus he began.
> 'Wallace', he said, 'thou takis the mekill cur;
> So feryt it, be wyrking off natur,
> How a howlat, complend off his fethrame,
> Quhill deym natur tuk off ilk burd, but blame,
> A fayr fethyr and to the howlat gaiff.
> Than he thruch pryde reboytyt all the laiff.
> Quhar off suld thow thi senȝe schaw so he?" &c.

Dr. Moir does not notice the lines even in passing.[1] Now, it is manifest when they are carefully examined that the allusion is to *The Buke of the Howlat.* They are not merely reminiscent; they show indeed a knowledge at first hand of the text of the earlier poem. The condensation is not a little remarkable. In six lines of the above passage we have in epitome stanzas lx, lxx and lxxi of *The Howlat.* The word *reboytyt* is in *The Howlat, rebalkit*

> 'All birdis he rebalkit that wald him nocht bowe.'

Again in *The Wallace* (Book vi, l. 139) there are the lines

> 'Sen ye are Scottis ȝeit salust sall ye be
> Gud deyn, dawch Lard, bach lowch banȝoch a de'

which Dr. Moir refers to as 'a jumble of two languages, Celtic and Scots' and quotes Professor Mackinnon for a partial interpretation. *Bach Lowch* we are told may be 'furious champion'; or if the proper reading be *ballauch* it could be rendered 'sturdy lad'. The words *Dawch lard* are taken as Scottish signifying 'lazy laird'. Evidently the line as it stands was to all intents meaningless to Professor Mackinnon just as was stanza lxii of *The Howlat* —

> 'So come the Ruke with a rerd and a rane roch,
> A bard owt of Irland with Bannachadee!
> Said 'Gluntow guk dynyd dach hala mischy doch;
> Raike hir a rug of the rost, or scho sall ryiue the·
> Mich macmory ach mach motnetir moch loch;
> Set hir dovne, gif hir drink: quhat Dele alis scho?

[1] Amours, however, does. *Howlat* p. 313 Introd. xxxiii.

O Deremyne, O Donnall, O Dochardy droch;
Thir ar his Irland Kingis of the Irischerye;
O Knewlyn, O Conochor, O Gregre Makgrane;
The Schennachy, the Clarschach,
The Ben schene, the Ballach,
The Crekery, the Corach,
Scho kennis thaim ilkane.'

'Dr. Diebler', says Mr. Amours the editor of the Scottish Text Society edition of *The Howlat,* 'with the help of two Celtic scholars, Professor Windisch of Leipzig and Professor Mackinnon of Edinburgh, has attempted an explanation of the Gaelic lines of this stanza. He comes to the conclusion that the dialect imitated by 'the bard owt of Irland' is not Irish but Scottish Gaelic in a phonetic and corrupt writing. An examination of the words taken separately shows that some of them may possibly have a certain meaning though it is difficult to connect them into a sentence and that others are meaningless sounds and distorted proper names largely supplied with gutturals. If these lines ever had a meaning, time and scribes have so dealt with it that it cannot be recovered now'. But to the late J. F. Campbell of Islay, the lines were far from meaningless. More than thirty years ago he annotated them thus: 'Holland in a stanza abuses a bard out of Ireland and mimics his language. It is bad Gaelic written by ear by one who did not understand more than its general meaning. 'Bannachadee' is clearly *Beannachadh Dia*, 'God's blessing', which is a common Highland salutation on entering a house and equivalent to the Irish salutation 'God save all here'. Other two lines mean —

'Said Black-knee, give us a drink, come me drink
Son of Mary's son, ach, great son, me dry lake.'

The last lines in the stanza give a list of names and certain words which mean 'the reciter of old tales' 'the singing woman' (or the fairy woman), 'the boy' 'the spoiling' 'the battle'; and these I take to be a list of current songs or poems which such hungry, thirsting, black-kneed and therefore bare legged, wandering minstrels recited together with the genealogies of kings and nobles.' Mr. Campbell's interpretation it appears to me helps to the understanding of *The Wallace* also, for surely it is not far fetched to say that *Gud deyn* looks very like *gud dynyd*; *dawch lard* is not unlike *dach hala,*

especially when spoken aloud; *banzoch a de* is identical: *bach lowch* is *ballach* as near as may be; and if both the lowland poets were merely mimicking in a language which they did not understand it is easy to account for the slight variants in *The Wallace*, the later in date.

Nor should we omit to notice the allusions to Romance literature. That the author of *The Wallace* was familiar with that extensive literature is certain. He refers to Alexander, Godfrey of Boulogne, Ganelon of Roncevalles, The Troy Book, and King Arthur. Of the Nine Worthies he frequently mentions Samson, Alexander, Julius Caesar, Charlemagne and Arthur. Here again, to a certain extent, the influence of *The Bruce* is seen: but, as in the case of the topography, he shews himself to be more than a mere copyist. With the exception of the *Troy Book* and *Gadifer de Larys* the literature cited in *The Wallace* is altogether different from that met with in Barbour; and the slightest comparison between *The Bruce* (B iii l. 71) and *The Wallace* (B viii l. 1256) shews that the story of Gadifer as told in the Romance of Alexander was known to the author of *The Wallace* at first hand. The numerous references to the antiquarian literature are of themselves unmistakeable evidence of the essentially literary character of the poem. They were, we may be certain, addressed to educated auditors who would understand the recondite allusions and appreciate the art of the poet.

But we may better direct special attention to two romances which, I believe, were, along with *The Bruce*, the models that the author kept steadily before him from the beginning of his poem to the end. I have already emphasised the fact that the poet deliberately set himself the task of composing an epic poem. He did not however take *The Bruce* as the principal model for the literary form. That poem, whatever its merits may be, is in no strict sense an epic. It lacks unity. It proceeds like a chronicle — a long chapter of history covering 26 years. It has admittedly dramatic touches not a few: but its episodes lack somewhat in variety.[1] Barbour's 'suthfastness' and a desire to tell 'the very thing rycht as it was' cramp the action throughout the twenty four books. Though the poem

[1] Its *quasi* epic character, indeed, being greatly due to XVth century editing. *Vide* Chapters *infra*.

is called 'a romance', that term, as Professor Skeat remarks simply means 'a tale or history'.[1] Nevertheless *The Bruce* was a rich quarry to the later poet, out of which, as we have seen he got much of his material.

So far as I am aware it has never hitherto been noticed that the literary form follows *Morte Arthure* and *The Gest Historiale of the Destruction of Troy*, two alliterative poems of the fourteenth century. The former is now by all the best critics[2] acknowledged as the work of the Scottish poet Huchown of the Awle Ryale, otherwise known through *The Lament for the Makaris* as Sir Hugh. of Eglintoun. The *Gest Historiale* is claimed for the same poet by the joint editors of the only printed edition, but the attribution is disputed by some authorities. I believe both poems can be shewn to be by the same author; but this is not the proper place to discuss the question.[3] At present it is sufficient to point out that the author of *The Wallace*, writing in the second half of the fifteenth century, knew both *Morte Arthure* and *The Gest Historiale*, and laid both under contribution when composing his national epic.

The general resemblance of words and phrases first led me to compare the three poems. In *The Wallace* one can scarcely fail to remark the indiscriminate use and constant recurrence of stock terms and favourite expressions in alliterat: ive lines, especially in passages descriptive of battles between English and Scots. In his employment of them he violates the Greek rule of 'nothing over much' and in consequence often renders his narrative prolix and tedious. The alliterative verse in the earlier poems and the heroic metre in *The Wallace* easily account for the slight changes in diction made by the 15th century poet and the impossibility of producing identical common lines. In the *Gest Historiale* and *The Wallace* there are not a few out of the way resemblances in the vocabulary, and we meet frequently with similar phrases as well as with

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[1] A tale or history which has been embellished, merely to give it the semblance of a romance. In its original form I believe it was simply a chronicle. *Vide* Chapters *infra.*

[2] Trautmann p. 109.

[3] I hope before long Huchown will receive the attention he so well deserves as one of Scotland's greatest poets. Literary historians have hitherto begun with John Barbour, wholly ignorant of Huchown's works.

identical alliteration where the heroic measure has permitted. A few instances may be given —

Mony breme in the batell britnet to dethe.	G. H. l. 5944.
Bare don mony bolde and brittonede to dethe.	G. H. l. 1210.
Off Sothroun men that bertynet war to dede.	W. Bk. iii l. 400.
Mony warchond wound and weré at all.	G. H. l. 5998.
To socour thaim with mony werkand wound.	W. Bk. iii l. 204.
And mony dongen to dethe with dynttes of honde.	G. H. l. 4757.
Sum hurt, sum hynt, sum derfly dong to dede.	W. Bk. V. l. 837.
Derffly to dede the Sotheroun was dongyn doun.	W. Bk. VII. l. 606.
Depe woundes to the dethe and mony derfe strokes.	G. H. l. 1876.
Derfly to dede feyle frekys thar he dycht.	W. Bk. V. l. 965.
Sone the day ouerdroghe and the derk entrid.	G. H. l. 673.
The day our went and cummyn was the nycht.	W. Bk. VI. l. 462.
Mony doughty were ded with dynt of his hond.	G. H. l. 5742.
Full mony ane derffly to ded was dicht.	W. Bk. VI. l. 550.
More breme to þe batell &c.	G. H. l. 5872.
Segh a batell full breme &c.	G. H. 1314.
The brym batell &c.	W. Bk. VIII. 207.
Speires into sprottes sprongen ouer hedes.	G. H. 1195.
Speris full sone all in to splendrys sprang.	W. Bk. IX. 921.

We can, however, have better evidence than similarity of style. Let us turn to *The Wallace* and *The Gest Historiale* and compare some passages. We shall begin with the proem of *The Wallace.* In the unique manuscript the poem opens with two Latin lines —

'Jhesu saluator, tu sis michi auxiliator
Ad finem dignum perduc librum atque benignum.'

Some editors have altogether omitted the lines: others have mentioned them casually in their introductory remarks. In the Scottish Text Society edition they are relegated to a prefatory note and referred to as 'a prayer written at the beginning of the poem apparently by the transcriber'. To treat the stanza as not an integral part of the poem is manifestly a mistake for the lines are neither more nor less than an excellent rendering of the second and third lines of the proem of *The Gest Historiale* —

'Now, God, of þi grace graunt me þi helpe
And wysshe me with wyt þis werke for to end!'

That the *Gest Historiale* was before the fifteenth century poet when composing his poem is scarcely to be doubted. The

lines in *The Wallace* which immediately follow the Latin are as follows —

'Our antecessowris that we suld off reide
And hald in mynde thar nobille worthi deid,
We lat ourslide, throw werray sleuthfulnes' &c.

while the corresponding lines in the *Gest Historiale*, are —

'Off aunters ben olde of annsetris nobill,
And slydyn uppon shlepe by slomerynge of age:
Of stithe men in stoure strongest in armes
And wisest in wer to wale in hor tyme,
Þat ben drepit with deth and þere day paste,
And most out of mynd' &c.

Notwithstanding the manifest imitation in the opening lines, it almost seems as if the author of *The Wallace* had intended that 'few bot they be well sented' should be able to trace *Morte Arthure* and the *Gest Historiale* as two of his sources: at any rate he has used these poems in a way that is decidedly irritating to one who would now seek to discover the full extent of his indebtedness. He freely took hints for episodes, and gathered felicitous phrases in order to brighten his narrative, studiously avoiding at the same time anything approaching servile copying; but he contrived so cunningly to combine and re-arrange his material that it is often very difficult indeed to affirm positive relation of particular passages. In myriad instances where we find merely 'echos' of quotations it would require extended and spiritual treatment to demonstrate parallelisms. The highly artificial description of Spring in The Wallace (B VIII l. 1052, almost repeated at the opening of B IX) is a case in point. It is, I believe, reminiscent of the *Gest Historiale*, but taken alone it would probably be unconvincing to many readers. For that reason it will be better to select at present a few examples in which there is plainer imitation.

Let us begin with Book IX of The Wallace where we are told how Wallace 'to Fraunce passed off Scotland' and —

'tuk his wayis
Be schort awys to schup him to the se'

comparing a passage with the alliterative poems. In the *Gest Historiale* we hear of Paris and his brother 'passing furtht'

to —

> 'Schope him to ship in a sharpe haste
> All boune on the brode se.'

The ship that carried Wallace, it may be remarked, 'wantyt nocht off wyn, wittaill nor ger', (l. 41) while the one in which Paris journeyed was also 'stuffed with vitell' (l. 2748). When Wallace and his friends had drank 'bonalais' —

> 'Bottis was schot and fra the roch thaim sent;
> With glaid hartis, at anys in thai went;
> Upon the schip thai rowit hastely.
> *The seymen than, walkand full besyly*
> *Ankyrs wand in wysly on athir syd;*
> *Thair lynys kest, and waytyt weyll the tyd;*
> *Leyt salys fall and has thair courss ynom.*
> A gud gay wynd out off the rycht art com.
> *Frekis in forstame rewllit weill thar ger,*
> *Ledys on luffbord,* with a lordlik fer,
> *Lansys laid out to luik thair passage sound.*
> *With full sayll thus fra Scotland furth thai found.'*

The details of that passage are however more particularly copied from *Morte Arthure* (l. 740) where we also find a description of a putting out to sea —

> 'Wyghtly on the wale *thay wye up thair ankers,*
> *Be wytt of the watyre-men* of the wale ytheȝ,
> *Frekis on the forestaynes fakene thair cableȝ*
> * * * * * *
> *Tytt sailleȝ* to the toppe and turneȝ the luffe
> Standez appone sterbourde.
> * * * * *
> *Schipemene scharply schotene thaire porteȝ*
> *Launcheȝ lede apone lufe, lacchen ther depeȝ*
> Lukkes to the lade-sterne, when the lyghte failleȝ
> *Castez coursez be crafte.'*

Again when we turn to *The Wallace* where the hero's amour in the City of Perth is told, we see the poet with the *Gest Historiale* open before him. Wallace enters the City and visits his lemman — (B IV. 733)

> 'Till her chalmer he went but mair abaid,
> Scho welcummyt him, and full gret plesance maid;
> Quhat at thai wrocht, I can nocht graithly say;
> Rycht unperfyt I am of Venus play.'

On leaving

> 'He kissyt her, syne tuk his lieff to fayr.'

So Jason wooed Medea (Book III l. 748).

'When he swiftly hade sworne to þat swete maidon
Þai entrid full evyn into an inner chamber,
* * * *
Þai solast hom saymn as hom-seluon liket,
With Venus werkes, that hom well pleasid.'

Then Jason

'lacches his leve and his love kyst
Past furth privily and þat pert leuyt.'

Coming now to examples of the 'supernatural machinery' in *The Wallace* we shall look at the well known incident where Saint Andrew and the Virgin appear to Wallace in a dream at Monkton Kirk (B vii l. 68). The difference of subject matter it should be remarked between the fifteenth century poem and *Morte Arthure* introduces a very strong disturbing element for which due allowance must be made. It is Saint Andrew that presents Wallace with a sword 'of burly burnist steill' the 'hilt and hand' of which was 'all glitterand lik the glas'. The Virgin is introduced as descending like a queen 'schynand ful bricht and scheyne' from whom the hero receives a wand and a book. On awaking Wallace asks a clerk to interpret the vision. The interpreter has no doubt about the 'agit man' being the national Saint; he is in doubt as to the queen whether she may be 'Fortoun, or our Lady so fre' but he inclines to regard her as

'Modyr off Him that all this warld has wrocht.'

But notwithstanding the different *motif* there is enough to show that in that wellknown incident the poet was again indebted to *Morte Arthure* and the *Gest Historiale.* In *Morte Arthure* we hear how King Arthur fell 'fore sleuth of slomoure one a slepe' and dreamed that 'a duchesse' clothed in silk and all bejewelled descended 'downe fra the clouddeȝ', saying —, 'Welcome I wis wele arte thow foundene,' presenting to him 'a brande with full brycht hilts' and bidding him 'brawndysshe the blade'. Arthur, like Wallace, has his dream interpreted. In the *Gest Historiale* (B VI l. 2340) there is narrated the vision of Paris when Mercury appears accompanied by Venus, an incident which I believe suggested Saint Andrew and the Virgin to the author of *The Wallace.* It must be kept in view that in order to gratify his readers he had

to invent a system of the marvellous, consonant with the religious faith and the superstitious credulity of his countrymen, and consequently that much of the pagan mythology was not available to him.

The equally well known lament of Wallace over the dead body of his friend Sir John the Graeme (B. x l. 562) furnishes another parallel.

> 'Amang the ded men sekand the worthiast,
> The corrs of Graym, for quham he murned mast
> Quhen thai him fand, and gud Wallace him saw,
> *He lychtyt doun, and hynt him fra thaim aw*
> *In armys up*: behaldand his paill face,
> *He kyssyt him and cryt full oft*, Allace!
> *My best brothir* in warld that euir I had!
> My afald freynd quhen I was hardest stad!
> *My hop, my heill, thow was in maist honour!*
> *My faith, my help, strenthiast in stour!*
> In the was wyt, fredom, *and hardines*;
> In the was treuth, manheid, and nobilnes,' &c.

Here again the poet has remembered both *The Gest Historiale* and *Morte Arthure.* The death of Hector in the former poem is described in Book XXI l. 8672, but there it is the people of Troy who lament the hero as the 'hope of their heale'. *Morte Arthure* is the poem more closely followed (l. 3951) where King Arthur finding the dead body of his faithful Sir Gawain —

> '*Kneles downe to the cors and caught it in armes*
> Kastys up his umbrere, *and kyssis hyme sone*
> * * * *
> Than the corownde king cryes full lowde, —
> '*Dere Kosyne o kynde* in kare am I leuede
> For now my wirschipe es wente and my were endide!
> Here *is the hope of my hele, my happynge of armes!*
> *My herte, and my hardynes*, hale one him lengede!
> *My concelle, my comforthe, that kepide myne herte!*
> * * * *
> *My wele and my wirchipe*, of all this werlde riche'

Arthur also takes up Gawain 'and swetly hym kysses'.

Our last example will be the portrait of Sir William Wallace in Book IX. Again, it is not difficult to see where it comes from. Without question the poet knew the description of the hero given in the *Scotichronicon*, but saw how unsuitable it was for metrical rendering. Acording to Bower, Wallace 'was

of stately appearance, gigantic in person, fair of face and of frank aspect; broad shouldered, big boned, and with body corresponding; of agreable mien but keen glance; lithe of limb; a powerful champion and in all his joints very strong and well-knit. Moreover the Most High had distinguished his mobile countenance with a genial gaiety and so graced him by heavenly gift in word and deed that by his mere appearance he won the hearts of all true Scots to esteem and goodwill. And no wonder. For, in gifts he was most liberal, in judgement most equitable, in consoling the bereaved most tender, most skilful in counsel, most patient in adversity, in speech most clear; above all things opposing deception and untruth and hating treachery; therefore was the Lord with him, through Whom he was a man prosperous in all his doings, venerating the Church, respecting the clergy, supporting the poor and widows, cherishing little ones and orphans, relieving the oppressed, putting down thieves and robbers and without reward doing rigour and justice upon them.'[1]

[1] The passage in Bower's *Scotichronicon* is as follows: 'Erat enim staturâ procerus, corpore giganteus, facie serenus, vultu jocundus, humeris latus, ossibus grossus, ventre congruus, lateribus protelus, aspectu gratus, sed visu ferus; renibus amplus, brachiis et cruribus vigorosus; pugil acerrimus, et omnibus artubus fortissimus et compactus. Insuper sic eum Altissimus, et ipsius vultum varium quâdam hilaritate favorabili insigniverat, ita dicta et facta illius quodam coelesti dono gratificaverat, ut omnium fidorum corda Scotorum solo aspectu sibi conciliaret in gratiam et favorem. Et nec mirum: erat enim in donis liberalissimus, in judiciis aequissimus, in consolatione tristium compatientissimus, in consilio peritissimus, in sufferentia patientissimus, in locutione luculentissimus super omnia falsitatem et mendacia prosequens, ac proditionem detestans: propter quod fuit Dominus cum eo, per quem erat vir in cunctis prosperè agens; ecclesiam venerans, ecclesiasticos reverens, pauperes et viduas sustenans, pupillos et orphanos refovens, oppressos relevans, furibus et raptoribus insidians, et sine pretio super eos justitiam exercens et rigorem.' I have translated the particular phrases *ventre congruus, lateribus protelus* simply as '*with body corresponding*' and *renibus amplus, brachiis et cruribus vigorosus* as *lithe of limb*, which I think correctly conveys the meaning. For *ferus* which is always used in the bad sense of *cruel* and which cannot be the meaning intended, I have translated as if the adjective were *ferox*. The whole rhetorical passage is a preface to the original text of Fordun which begins at the sentence in the *Scotichronicon, Hic quasi* &c. and in consequence when Fordun's few words about Wallace's personal appearance are reached, Bower, in order to soften the redundancy as much as possible, inserts the phrase *ut praemisimus.*

In the poem the portrait is pretended to be sent to Scotland by a French herald — 'tane thar be men of discretioun' — (B IX. 1910)

'Clerkis, knichtis and harroldys that him saw.'

It is as follows —

'Wallace statur off gretness and off hycht
Was jugyt thus be discretioun off rycht,
That saw him bath dissembill and in weid:
Nyne quarteris large he was in lenth indeid;
Thryd part lenth in schuldrys braid was he
Rycht sembly strang and lusty for to se.
His lymmys gret which stalward paiss and sound,
His browys hard, his armes gret and round.
His handis maid richt lik till a pawmer,
Off manlik mak, with naless gret and cler,
Proportionyt lang ang fayr was his wesage,
Rycht sad off spech and abill in curage:
Braid breyst and heych, with sturdy crag and gret;
His lippis round, his noys was squar and tret;
Bowand bron haryt, on browis and breis lycht,
Cler aspre eyn, lik dyamondis brycht,
Wndyr the chyn, on the left side, was seyn
Be hurt, a wain; his colour was sangweyn.
Woundis he had in mony diuers place,
Bot fair and weill kepyt was his face.
Off ryches he kepyt no propyr thing:
Gaiff as he wan, lik Alexander the king,
In tym of pes, mek as a maid was he,
Quhar wer approchyt the rycht Ector was he.'

Now the model for that portrait is not the *Scotichronicon*; it is unquestionably primarily *The Gest Historiale.* While in *The Bruce*, the poet hesitates to liken the good Lord James Douglas to Hector, in *The Wallace* the hero is always described as the equal both of Hector and Achilles. And in composing, the fifteenth century poet, remembering the long catalogue of heroes in the *Gest Historiale* deliberately copied the portraits of Achilles and Hector. Achilles is described (l. 3760) as a man

'With a brest þat was brode, byg of his shulders,
Grete armys in the gripe, growen full rounde;
A large man of length with limis full brode' &c.

while we are told (l. 3892) that Hector was —

'ay meke as a maydon and mylde of his speche.'

It would be tedious to attempt in this chapter to trace exhaustively the whole and particular indebtedness of *The Wallace* to the early historical and antiquarian literature, and I must therefore refer the reader who is interested in the sources, to the poems I have named and particularly to the two alliterative poems *Morte Arthure* and the *Gest Historiale.* In order, however, to fulfil the promise made in an earlier chapter I wish before closing, to point out the remarkable concurrence both in idea and diction between Chaucer and the Scottish author. Let us turn then to Book VII, line 175 of *The Wallace* where we find this passage —

'That wykked syng so rewled the planait,
Saturn was than in till his heast stait.
Abonne Juno in his melancoly,
Jupiter, Mars, ay cruell off inwy,
Saturn as than awansyt his natur.
Off terrandry he power had and cur;
Rebell renkis in mony seir regioun;
Trubbill weddyr makis schippis to droune,
His drychin is with Pluto in the se;
As off the land, full off iniquite,
He waknys wer, waxing off pestilence,
Fallyng of wallis with cruell wiolence,
Pusoun is ryff, amang thir othir thingis;
Sodeyn slauchter off emperouris and kingis.
Quhen Sampsoun powed to grond the gret piller,
Saturn was than in till the heast sper.
At Thebes als off his power thai tell,
Quhen Phiorax sank throuch the erd till hell;
Off the Trojans he had full mekill cur,
Quhen Achilles at Troy slew gud Ectur.

The editors of Harry have all found the passage an insoluble puzzle. 'If' says Dr. Moir 'we could identify the astrological books of Harry's time (James III it is well known dabbled in astrology) we might be able to trace the reference' and he annotates Phiorax by stating that the name 'is Amphiaraus of whom Horace tells us

concidit auguris
Argivi domus ob lucrum
Demersa exitio.'

To understand the passage however it is quite unnecessary to examine early astrological books; Chaucer is the best interpreter. Mention has already been made of the fact that the

versification of Book II ll. 170—354 of *The Wallace* is identical with that of Chaucer's *Compleynte of Faire Anelida upon False Arcyte.* In that short poem there is also a reference to *Amphiorax* (line 57) but the Scottish poet went elsewhere for his material for the long passage that I have cited. He took the line —

'Quhen Phiorax sank through the erd to hell'

from *Troilus* (Book II l. 105) where we find —

'Amphiorax fil through the grund to helle'

while that other line

'Quhen Sampsonne powed to grond the gret piller'

is traceable to Chaucer's *Knightes Tale* (line 2466) —

'I slow Sampsonne in shaking the pilor.'

The lines in *The Wallace*, beginning

'At Thebes als off his power thai tell'

are also a narration of what is found in Troilus (Book II ll. 99 &c.)

'This Romance is of Thebes' &c.

But all difficulty in understanding the astrology of the Scottish poet immediately disappears when we turn to *The Knightes Tale* itself. Beginning at line 2188, Chaucer exactly dates his poem as Sunday 'this day fifty wykes' from the Saturday May 5th. in which Palamon and Arcite first fought (line 1850). He does so by giving his reader a long disquisition concerning Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sol, Venus, Mercury and Luna, which extends to line 2470. Now the Scottish poet, it will be found, has simply omitted Chaucer's extensions and contented himself by giving, in astrological form, the merest epitome. But he borrowed both ideas and diction from this passage of *The Knightes Tale* (l. 2450)

'Saturn anon, to stynten strif and drede,
* * * *
quoad Saturne
My cours that hath so wyde for to turne
Hath more power than woot any man.
Myn is the drenchyng in the see so wan;
Myn is the prison in the derke cote;
Myn is the stranglyng and hangyng by the throte;
The murmure and the cherles rebellyng
The gronynge and the pryvee empoysonyng;

I do vengeance and pleyn correccionn
Whyl I dwelle in the signe of the leoune;
Myn is the ruyne of the hye halles,
The fallynge of the toures and of the walles,
Upon the mynour or the carpenter;
I slow Sampsonn in shakynge the piler.
And myne be the maladyes colde,
The derke tresons, and the castes olde;
My loking is the fader of pestilence.'

If Scottish editors had collated these parallel passages in *The Knightes Tale* and *The Wallace* it would have led to improvement in the only part of the text of *The Wallace* that can be said to be obscure. Dr. Jamieson explains the word *drychyn* as *stay, delay*, from Old English *driht*, and he is followed by Dr. Moir. But *drychyn* is in The Wallace a ghost-word, the correct reading being *drynchyn* as in Chaucer —

'Myn is the drenchyng in the see so wan.'

By the aid of the Chaucerian poem it is possible to still further amend the text of *The Wallace.* If we go back for a moment and look at the description of Sir William Wallace we will see that it possesses little or no artistic excellence, that it is in fact a mere cento and a bad one to boot. But it is excellent for illustrating the way in which the poet first gathered his material and afterwards combined and re-arranged it to suit himself. I have already suggested comparison with the *Gest Historiale* but it is necessary also to glance at *The Knightes Tale.* The four phrases following are taken *verbatim* from Chaucer's portraits of Lygurge and Arcite, vizt: (1) *In schuldrys braid* (2) *His lymmys gret*, (3) *His lippis round,* and (4) *his colour was sangweyn.* There is nothing corresponding to numbers 3 and 4 either in the *Scotichronicon* or the *Gest Historiale.* And that being so it appears to me that a manifest blot in the portrait will be at once removed if we read the word *browys* as *brawyns* in the line —

'His browys hard, his armes gret and round'

bringing it into conformity with the 'Lygurge' portrait (K. T. l. 2135)

'His lymes gret, his brawnes harde and stronge
His shuldres brode, his armes rounde and longe'

Dr. Moir who does not seem to have suspected the Chaucerian source and who found *browys* printed as *braunis* in the 1560

edition of *The Wallace*, has admitted that such emendation would improve the text.

A special interest centres round the Envoy of *The Wallace*, and we shall accordingly take it as our final example of Chaucerian influence in the poem.

'Go nobill buk, fulfillyt off gud sentens,
Suppos thow be baran off eloquens.
Go worthi buk, fulfillyt off suthfast deid;
Bot in langage off help thow has gret neid.
Quhen gud makaris rang weill in to Scotland,
Gret harm was it that nane off thaim ye fand.
Ȝeit thar is part that can the weill awance,
Now byd thi tym, and be a remembrance.
I you besek, off your benevolence,
Quha will nocht low, lak nocht my eloquence;
It is weill knawin I am a burel man,
For her is said as gudly as I can:
My spreyt felis na termys asperans.
Now besek God that gyffar is off grace,
Maide hell and erd, and set the hewyn abuff,
That he us grant off his der lestand luff.

It is formed on the best literary models of the day. The opening lines 'Go nobill buk' &c. as well as the three concluding lines may be regarded as words of style. They are found in Lydgate with slight verbal difference, and they were imitated long after his day by, among others, Hawes, Spenser and John Bunyan. But the editors of *The Wallace* have read the line —

'It is weill knawin I am a burel man'

as if it were an autobiographic intimation to be taken literally, and have sought to account for what they regarded as 'perversions of history' in the poem, by the 'rusticity of the author'. Disregarding altogether a line like

'My spreyt felis na termys asperans'

which iu the middle of the 15th. century was certainly not the language of an uneducated man, they failed to observe that the autobiographic line and something more are apparently derived from the Prologue of *The Frankelyns Tale*, where we read —

'But, sires, by-cause I am a burel man,
At my bigynnyng first I yow bisech
Have me excused of my rude speche;

I lerned never rethoryk certeyn;
Thyng that I speke, it moot be bare and pleyn.
* * * *
My spirit feleth noght of swich matere
But if you list, my tale shul ye here.'

Let us now enter upon the discussion of an apochryphal work, ostentatiously cited by the poet, which criticism ought to combat.

The Latyn buk.

Having considered in the immediately preceding chapter the positive relation of *The Wallace* to earlier and contemporaneous literature we shall now proceed to examine certain explicit references to an early fourteenth century history or Memoir of Sir William Wallace, written in Latin, which the poet asks us to believe that he used constantly while composing the poem. These may be looked at as a group.

(1) In Book V l. 533, we read of Master Jhone Blayr —

'A worthy clerk bath wys and rycht sawage.
Lewyt he was befor in Parys toune,
Amang maistris in science and renoune.
Wallace and he at hayme in scule had beyne;
Sone eftirwart, as verite is seyne
He was the man that pryncipall undertuk
That fyrst compild in dyt the Latyne buk
Off Wallace lyf, rycht famous of renoun;
And Thomas Gray persone off Libertoun
With him thai war, and put in story all
Offt ane or bath, mekill of his truaill,
And tharfor her I mak off thaim mencioune'

and again in Book XI, l. 1410

'Off Wallace lyff quha has a forthar feill
May schaw furth mair with wit and eliquence;
For I to this haiff don my dilligence,
Eftyr the pruff geyffyn fra the Latyn Buk,
Quhilk Maister Blayr in his tym undyrtuk,
In fayr Latyn compild it till ane end.'

Maister Blayr and Schir Thomas Gray, we are told (B XI l. 1423)

'Eftir Wallace thai lestit mony day
Thir twa knew best off gud Schir Wilȝhamys deid.'

Besides such passages we find many passing allusions to 'the Buk' in phrases like the following — 'myn autor' 'as the Latyn Buk tellis', 'as myn autor sayis', &c. By all the editors of the poem Master Jhone Blayr and Schir Thomas Gray have been regarded as real persons and the references to the Latyn Buk as so many statements of fact. Tytler is of opinion that it was 'in all probability the Latin Buk of Wallace's life, compiled by this worthy ecclesiastic, Master John Blair, who as we are elsewhere informed officiated as his chaplain, from which Henry the Minstrel derived those authentic particulars which may be detected cropping out as geologists say from beneath the more fabulous superficies of his history.' Dr. Moir conjectures that the poet 'starting from his Latin original, in the days of his youth when perhaps he to some extent could read the original, would gradually forget the exact facts of history as given by Blair and Gray and give his enthralled and prejudiced audience something which he honestly believed was true but which he could no longer from blindness verify or check'. He further states that the poet 'professes to base his poem on a Latin History of Wallace written by John Blair, the hero's chaplain and supplemented by Thomas Gray, parson of Liberton. But unfortunately this 'Latin Buke' of Blair's does not now exist if it ever did. I must say that Harry's allusions to his 'autor' are made in so guileless a way that I do not consider him to be a wilful impostor. I think there had been some such book, but that, as I said above, Harry, carried away by rhapsodical fervour gradually departed from his original.' Mr. T. F. Henderson ventures another explanation. 'Further' he says 'since he (Harry) affirms that he composed his poem

> 'Efter the pruiff geyffin fra the Latin buk
> Quilk Master Blayr in his tym undertuk'

it has been supposed that he had Latin sufficient to enable him to paraphrase a Latin *Life* of Wallace, now unknown, written by a person, now equally occult, a certain John Blair, whom Harry declares to have been Wallace's chaplain. Moreover the composition of so long, so complicated, and after its own fashion, so meritorious a poem, has been pronounced beyond the powers of one born blind; for in the days of Harry, the blind were not taught the art of reading which forms the

basis of education. But notwithstanding this accumulative array of specious argument, the hypothesis that best fits the whole circumstances of the case is that Harry — otherwise nameless except as 'Blind' — was as Major states blind from his birth and as he himself records 'a burel' or unlearned man. Of course, he neither could have been blind nor unlearned if he did himself read or translate Blair's Latin *Life* of Wallace. But so far from affirming that he had either seen or read the aforesaid book, Harry does not even affirm that it then existed; and if he does not actually imply that it no longer existed he refrains from stating where or from whom he had access to it. Further, nothing whatever is now known of this Latin Life * * * * nor was the existence of Blair's book known to Major, who gives only partial credit to Harry's stories, nor to Wyntoun, who wrote of Wallace

> 'Off his gud dedis and manhead
> Gret gestis I hard say are made
> But sa mony, I trow nocht
> As he intill his dayis wrocht

nor in fact to any writer except Harry, previous to the inventious Dempster (1627) who further does not scruple to assign to Blair an admirably selected companion volume, *De Tyrannide*. The truth, therefore, seems to be that Harry's main sources were the 'gestis' mentioned by Wyntoun: nor is it at all unlikely that the mythical Latin *Life* was the invention of one of those earlier bards.'[1]

To none of the critics does it seem to have occurred that the poet's statements may be quite otherwise interpreted by comparing them with similar passages in other early works. They seem to have forgotten that early authors in order to give their works the stamp of authority very frequently, as Dunlop remarks, 'feigned that their fables had been translated from Latin, or derived from ancient French prose, in which they had been originally written, — averments which should never be credited unless otherwise established to be true'.[2] The so called histories of Dictys and Dares are in point. Nobody in the present day who reads the letter of Lucius Septimius to Quintus Aradius at the beginning of Dictys

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[1] Henderson p. 67. [2] Dunlop Vol. I p. 200.

believes that either individual ever existed; that the history itself was, as is pretended, originally written in Punic letters, or that the manuscript was recovered from a tomb at Gnossus. No more is it credible that the Dares history was translated by Cornelius Nepos from a manuscript in the autograph of Dares. To the merest tyro in criticism these prefaces, as Professor Saintsbury has remarked, bear forgery on the very face of them.[1] The putting forth of works under a false name was not in early times associated with any sense of literary dishonesty.[2] The practice arose from a desire on the part of authors to fortify themselves by alleging authority for their statements. Turpin's Chronicle is another and later instance of the same practice. It is feigned to be addressed from Viennes in Dauphiny to Leoprandus, but is now known not to have been written till the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century. The case of Dante quoting as if from Seneca, while his author was Albertus Magnus, is equally well known. There is also the familiar instance in *Troilus*. In Book I l. 394 Chaucer explicitly cites 'myn auctour called Lollius' and in Book II l. 14 professes to be enditing 'out of Latin' from a work a thousand years old. The sense is as clear as words can make it. Now we know for certain that his author was not an ancient, and that the 'bokes olde' which he says he follows, were not Latin books at all. His original was Boccaccio, almost his contemporary, and the book he copied was the *Filostrato* of the Italian poet. Chaucer's references to Lollius, as a writer in *The Academy* has pointed out 'are a mere mystification intended to make the readers believe that the story has the sanction of antiquity. The Trojan War was a matter of too serious historical importance, especially for the dwellers in 'Brutes Albioun' to be made the subject of a purely fictitious narrative. What was related of it must have at least the semblance of historical truth; and hence the perpetual citing of Dares and Dictys by persons who had never read them, but who supposed them to be grave contemporary authorities. As is remarked by the editor of Benoit de Sainte-More — 'Nous savons comme, au moyen âge

[1] Saintsbury p. 170.

[2] My friend Dr. Tille reminds me of the *Percival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach as an exact parallel in German literature.

le poête en langue vulgaire, pour conquérir la confiance de son public, aime à se mettre sous la protection d'un texte latin' * * * * *. Chaucer 'might be himself satisfied to translate the *Filostrato* and ask no questions; but for the sake of his readers he is obliged to cite something of more respectable antiquity, and he gives them Lollius, as good a name as any other'.[1]

Such phrases in *The Wallace* as 'the Latin book tellis' &c. scarcely need to be discussed. They were the stock in trade of all early poets, Italian, French, English and Scottish alike. Sometimes they were used as a statement of fact; oftener, however, as tags for the sake of a convenient rime. But not infrequently they were deliberately employed to suggest that an original was being followed, when the fact was otherwise.[2] Instances of the last sort are common, for example, in the classic work of Sir Thomas Malory. It has been demonstrated by Dr. Oscar Sommer that Huchown's version of *Morte Arthure* is mainly used by Malory throughout his Vth. Book, although without acknowledgment. But in the course of telling the story of Arthur and Gawain, Malory occasionally expands his original and cites 'the Frenche tale' as if to vouch his own embellishments, in that way doubtless hoping to gain the confidence of his readers.

Now, it is admitted by every one that neither Thomas Gray nor John Blair is discoverable among the contemporaries of Wallace, and no history nor memoir bearing the faintest resemblance to the joint work attributed to them is known, directly or indirectly, until we hear of it through the poem itself — a fact that should have put editors on their guard against accepting the poet's statements as literally true. If we turn again to the portrait of Sir William Wallace in Book IX, we will find it explicitly stated that the hero's 'properteys'

> 'Was knawin in to Frans
> Off him to be in gud remembrans,
> Maistir Jhon Blayr that patron couth resaiff,
> In Wallace buk brewyt it with the layff.'

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[1] Academy, April 6th. 1895, letter of Mr. G. C. Macaulay.

[2] Professor Herford remarks that it almost seems as if 'Spenser borrowed from Chaucer nothing but his sly way of acknowledging indebtedness chiefly where it was not due'. Introd. xxxvii.

But as we saw in the preceding chapter the 'patron' followed by the poet was mainly the *Gest Historiale* and *The Knightes Tale*, both late fourteenth century works. In the *Gest Historiale* too, we are told that Dares 'brewyt in his boke' the 'tulkes of Greece and Troy', Achilles and Hector among others —

> 'Of there shap for to shew and there shene colour
> Of the worthiest there were.'

It is manifest, therefore, that the author of The Wallace was not, so far as the portrait is concerned, copying from the supposititious Memoir of John Blair, but from very late fourteenth century sources of a quite different kind, and we may consequently apply the brocard *falsum in uno falsum in omnibus* the more especially having regard to the analogous method of so many other early authors.

We have already remarked the use made by the poet of Wyntoun's *Cronykil* and Bower's *Scotichronicon.* We have noted also that statements of Wyntoun and Bower which modern investigations have discovered to be errors are found in *The Wallace,* a fact which, taken in conjunction with the evidence of verbatim copying, points unmistakably to these chronicles as two of the main sources of the poem. To the true history of Sir William Wallace the poem appears when it is carefully examined to contribute only two facts not found in either Wyntoun or Bower. But the contributions, although in themselves slight, deserve attention. One only of these we shall note at present. The passage quoted from Wyntoun in an earlier chapter and compared with a passage in *The Wallace* narrates the attack made by Wallace on the Sheriff of Lanark. In the *Cronykil* the surname of that officer is not mentioned; in the poem it is given as Hesilrig. In Bower he is called Hesliope. In one of the Cotton Mss. quoted in the *Wallace Papers,* edited by Joseph Stevenson, — a sixteenth century transcript of an earlier English manuscript, — the name is written Haslibrigg. One readily perceives that the difference between these three names is very slight — chiefly in the final letters. But as they stand in the manuscripts they are nevertheless different surnames; and the point to be emphasised is that the author of *The Wallace* has not copied in this particular either from Wyntoun or Bower. But it is surely most significant that the poem receives corroboration from the

Scalacronica written c. 1362, of which a unique manuscript is now preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Until 1836, when it was printed by the Maitland Club, the work was only imperfectly known through the abstracts given by Leland. The author was a knight, a Northumbrian, whose military talents were chiefly employed against the Scots. 'It was his fate' says Mr. Joseph Stevenson, the editor, 'to be captured by them and to be conveyed a prisoner to Edinburgh. To relieve the tedium which confinement naturally produced in an active mind he had recourse to the exercise of accomplishments, which, being of a literary nature, were not commonly possessed by soldiers of that age. In the formation of this work he availed himself not only of certain written authorities which he specifies but also introduces into his narrative an account of the exploits in which his father, another preux chevalier, was concerned, and of those in which he himself had borne a part'. Under the year 1297 he relates that his father, Sir Thomas Gray, being with Hesilrig in Lanark when the night attack was made by Wallace, was severely wounded and left for dead.[1] Now when we consider that the author of *Scalacronica* was also named Sir Thomas Gray is it unreasonable to conjecture that the Sir Thomas Gray of *The Wallace* is to be identified either with the elder Northumbrian knight or with the author of the chronicle that alone agrees in the important particular in which the poet has shewn himself to be independent of all the native historians.

The designation 'persone off Libertoune' led some critics to suppose Sir Thomas Gray to have been Parson of Liberton in Midlothian, but as Chalmers long ago remarked, that benefice being vested in the Abbey of Holyrood could have had no parson but only a vicar. An equally valid objection applies to Liberton in Lanarkshire, for records shew that in Wallace's day that living was enjoyed by Sir Hewe of Dunoon. But when due consideration is given to the fact that Liberton adjoining Biggar on the S. E. and Carnwath on the W. is only a few miles distant from Lanark, the scene of the night attack on Hesilrig, in which Sir Thomas Gray was a prominent actor, it seems far more reasonable to suppose that the Northumbrian

[1] Scalachronica, preface, and page 123.

knight in 1297 and for some years later held of Edward, for military service, some fortalice like Oggs Castle or Whyte Castle in Liberton parish. Bain's *Calendars* indeed shew that as late as 1305 Gray was actively employed in the interests of the English party in the Forest of Selkirk, a district which certainly comprehended Liberton in Lanarkshire.

Our next step is to discover if possible Maister Jhone Blayr and his 'Latin buk'. In the *Dictionary of National Biography* the worthy chaplain has an honourable place, his memoir in that monumental work being written by Mr. T. F. Henderson. It is as follows: — 'John Blair (f. 1300) chaplain of Sir William Wallace was a native of Fife, and is said to have been educated at Dundee in the same school with Wallace. After continuing his studies at the University of Paris he entered holy orders and under the name of Arnoldus became a monk of the Order of St. Benedict at Dunfermline. When Wallace became Governor of the Kingdom Blair was appointed his chaplain. According to Henry the Minstrel, Blair, along with Thomas Gray, parson of Liberton, 'oft one oft both' accompanied Wallace in almost all 'his travels' and one or other kept a record of his achievements. From these notes Blair 'compiled in dyte the Latin buk of Wallace's Life' from which Henry the Minstrel professed to derive the principal materials for his poem on the 'Acts and Deeds of Sir William Wallace'. The work of Blair is supposed to have been written in 1327. A professed fragment of it from a manuscript in the Cottonian Library was published with notes by Sir Robert Sibbald in 1705 under the title 'Relationes quaedam Arnoldi Blair, Monachi de Dumfermelem et Capellani D. Gulielmi Wallas, militis' 1327, and was also reprinted along with the poem of Henry the Minstrel in 1758. These so called 'Relationes' are however nothing more than a plagiarism from the Scotichronicon. He is said to have been also the author of a work entitled 'De liberate tyrannidae Scotia' which is now lost.'

The biographical facts of that memoir are mainly derived from the author of *The Wallace* and from three other writers, one of the seventeenth and two of the eighteenth century, none of them in the present day trusted. The mendacious Dempster is the inventor of the tractate *De Liberate Tyrannidae*; until 1617 no one ever had heard of it. The first editor of the

Relationes, Sir Robert Sibbald, in 1705 evolved from his own brain the fable concerning the change of name from John to Arnold, and the retiral of Blair, after Wallace's death, to the Benedictine Monastery of Dunfermline. Three years later George Mackenzie author of *The Lives and Characters of the Most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation*, amplified and embellished as his custom was, all his originals. He rounded Sibbald's narrative by telling us that Blair on the completion of his studies at Paris became a brother of the order of St. Benedict, and came back to Scotland 'on the death of Alexander III' withdrawing 'at the beginning of the troubles' to 'the Benedictine Cloister at Dunfermline'. He gently takes both Dempster and Sibbald to task, the one for attributing the *De Liberate Tyrannidae* to Blair; the other for regarding the *Relationes* as a 'fragment of Blair's book'. The *Relationes* in his opinion should be regarded as 'rather excerptiouns taken out of' Blair's book 'by some other hand, as it will very evidently appear to any who reads it': while of Dempster he says 'I am suspicious that both' the *Gestis Gul. Wallas* and the *De Liberate Tyrannidae* are 'but one, out of which the excerptiouns were taken'. For a writer usually so reckless as Mackenzie notoriously was, it is not a little remarkable to find him hesitating in adopting Sir Robert Sibbald's assertion about the change of name. All that he ventures to say is that 'After Wallace's death, 'tis highly probable' that Blair 'retired again from the world into his monastery, and that he changed his name from John to Arnald, which makes some authors call him John and others Arnald'. Mr. Henderson's original contribution to the biography is the information that Blair was educated at the University of Paris, and assumed the name Arnald when he first entered the Benedictine Monastery at Dunfermline. These facts were unknown to Dempster, Sibbald and Mackenzie.

Such biography, falsely so called, is not profitable for instruction, but needs correction and invites reproof. Having no basis of fact it falls like a house of cards if a little finger is laid on it.

The question still to be resolved is one of interpretation of *The Wallace*. As we have already remarked there is no record except the poem itself that discovers any companion of

Sir William Wallace of the name of John Blair, and there is consequently good reason for suspecting that the poet is simply wishful to win the confidence of readers by leading them to suppose he is translating from a Latin text.

Let us turn to the *Relationes Arnaldi Blair.* 'About the beginning of the last century' says Dr. Moir 'a Latin history of Wallace was given to the world under the name of Relationes Arnaldi Blair. This professed to be the work of John Blair who according to the discoverer changed his name to Arnold when he joined a religious house in Dunfermline. But subsequent investigation has shewn that these Relationes are simply extracts from the Scotichronicon'. 'Undigested transcripts from the Scotichronicon' is Dr. Irving's description of the same 'meagre chronicle'. Now if that criticism be true, it follows necessarily that the *Relationes* can be neither a fragment of John Blair's Latin book nor 'excerptiouns from it' but must necessarily be the work of some person who lived after 1447 when Bower is supposed to have finished the *Scotichronicon.* And without any doubt it can be demonstrated to be for the greater part, as Irving says, an undigested transcript from Bower's work. Fordun's text we know is incorporated, often with considerable verbal emendations, in Bower's narrative; and the fifteenth century alterations are found in Arnald Blair. When the *Relationes* departs from Bower's text, which it frequently does, the changes are slight and never in any proper sense improvements in the Latinity. But while Irving, Moir and Henderson are so far correct in saying that the *Relationes* are directly derived from the *Scotichronicon,* they altogether miss the one salient point which has a bearing on the question of the relation of *The Wallace* to the *Relationes.* The *Relationes* is not wholly derived from the *Scotichronicon.* Two at least of its capitula have nothing corresponding to them in Fordun, Wyntoun or Bower. The battle of Black Ironsyde is not mentioned anywhere before 1500, except by Arnald Blair and the author of *The Wallace.* The same is nearly true of the burning of the Barns of Ayr, an incident touched on in a single line in *The Bruce*; it is however described at large in the *Relationes* and also in the poem. The battle of Biggar is another event only known to Arnald Blair and the poet. It is not required that I should discuss here

the value of 'the meagre chronicle' as an historical document; it is enough to be able to show that everything points to its being another of the sources used by the poet. The most recent investigations have given not the faintest corroboration either to the Ayr incident or to the battle of Biggar, but the fight at Black Ironsyde was brought into the region of true history by Joseph Stevenson the editor of the *Wallace Papers*, nearly sixty years ago, and in more recent times has been further elucidated by the invaluable *Calendars* of Mr. Joseph Bain. It is the other of the two items of true history to which I have already alluded.

In the compilation of the *Scotichronicon* it is well known that after Bower's day, other hands are traceable; and in the two capitula particularly referred to, as well as in certain minor things in the chronicle, it may very well be that we have notes intended originally to be used by some one of the continuators. It is at any rate most remarkable that in the manuscripts of the *Scotichronicon* used by Goodal, two Capitula are said to be awanting, vizt. 32 and 33 of Book XI. Of these, he says 'desiderantur capita 32 & 33 in Mss. nostris'. The *Relationes* would therefore seem to suggest how the lacuna might easily be completed. Tytler himself must have had a glimmering of the fact for in a footnote to one of the Notes and Illustrations of his *History of Scotland* he refers to a passage in the *Relationes* as probably intended 'to have been a part of Bower's additions to Fordun'.

The only person of the name John Blair that seems to answer to the subject of our quest is mentioned in the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland under date 1467, where we find an acquittance made by royal authority for a robe given to Magister John Blare, chaplain to the King, for the writing of a book called Mandeville (pro scriptura unius libri dicti Mandvile). Has the famous *Voiage and Travayle* of Sir John Maundeville transcribed by Magister John Blare any relation to *The Wallace*? The question is not without interest even though it may be difficult to answer quite satisfactorily. The memorable passage at the end of Sir John's work, where the Knight tells us how, after journeying 'through many landes and yles and countreys' for 34 years, he came home and 'compyled his boke', is known to every reader. 'For as much' he says 'as many

men believe not that they see wythe theyr eyen or that they may conceive and know in their mynde, therefore I made my way to Rome in my coming homewarde to shew my boke to the holy father the Pope and tell hym of the mervayles that I had sene in diverse countreys; so that he with his wise counsel would examine it, with diverse folke that are at Rome, for there dwell men of all nations of the world, and a lytle time after when he and his counsel had examined it all through, he sayd to me for a certayne that it was true, for, he sayd he had a boke of Latyn contayning all that and much more, of the which *Mappa Mundi* is made, the which boke I saw, and therefore the Pope hath ratyfied and confirmed my boke in all poyntes. And I pray to all those that rede this boke that they will pray for me, &c.' Was the author of *The Wallace* emulating Sir John's fine fooling when he, immediately before his Envoy, told his readers, that he had done his diligence —

> 'Eftyr the pruff geyffyn fra the Latyn buk
> Quhilk Maister Blayr in his tym undertuk,
> In fayr Latyn compild it till ane end;
> With thir witnes the mar is to commend,
> Byschop Synclar than lord was off Dunkell
> He gat this buk and confermd it him-sell
> For werray trew; thar off he had no dreid;
> Hymself had seyn gret part off Wallace deid.
> His purpos was for till haue send it to Rom
> Our fadyr off Kyrk tharon to gyff his dom.'

The passages are curiously parallel. To Mandeville's burlesque account of the obtaining of the Papal *imprimatur*, it will be difficult I believe to find an analogue in English literature other than the lines of *The Wallace* just quoted.

The Chaplain, Master John Blair who received reward from James III for the transcript of Mandeville was Vicar of Maybole and in all likelihood related to the Blairs of Adamtoun or Ardblare, near neighbours and kinsmen of Wallace of Craigie, chief of the Scottish Wallaces. He witnessed charters granted by Adam Blair, at Adamtoun and Inchinnan, between 1467 and 1490. But his identification as the compiler of the *Relationes* does not seem to be possible unless by ignoring altogether the attribution of the manuscript. I confess that so far as my quest is concerned the 'certain Arnald Blair' is only a shade.

Yet it is not without significance that the surname of the author should be set forth as *Blair*, and all the more so when the internal evidence plainly indicates the chronicle to have been intended, in some measure, to glorify the Craigie family. How else can we explain the battle at the village of Craigie (ad vicum de Craigey) and the explicit mention of the hero as the son of a noble knight Andrew Wallace, Lord of Craigie (filius nobilis militis domini Andreae Wallace, domini de Kragge)? But even granting the authorship to be insoluble, it is, I submit, reasonably probable, when the Lanark, Black Ironsyde, Biggar and Ayr incidents are fairly considered in their relation to the poem, that in the chronicle written by Sir Thomas Gray and the *Relationes Arnaldi Blair*, we have 'the Latyn buk' cited so frequently by the poet as his 'autor'.

Blind Harry's Collaborator.

The result of our enquiry into the evidence touching the relation of *The Wallace* to earlier and contemporaneous literature is sufficiently decided to render further examination unnecessary. The extensive literature made tributary by direct citation or allusion clearly enough shews that the poet can neither have been a man 'blind from his birth' nor an 'ignorant versifier'. No other early Scottish work, indeed, evidences such a wide acquaintance with English and Scottish literature, historical and antiquarian. That being so we ought surely to endeavour to obtain, if possible, some further information than we possess at present regarding the author. Are there any independent data by which we may test the tradition that assigns the poem to Blynd Harry? That is the question I propose now to discuss.

Some years ago when turning over the leaves of *The Records of the Parliament of Scotland*[1] it came to me as a pleasant surprise to find embedded among the statutes of the reign of James III the following little poem.

'Sede sēns ista Judex inflexibilis sta
Sit tibi lucerna lex lux pellisque paterna
A manibus reuoces munus ab aure preces.[2]

[1] *Records of Parliament* (Robertson's edition, *suppressed*).

[2] Scotichronicon ii p. 299. The allusion is to the punishment meted out by Cambyses.

Prent in ye patiens, Blynd nocht thi conscience,
Do thi Gode reuerence, thankand him ay,
Dress ye withe diligence, to put away negligence,
Seiss ye with sufficience, This Warlde will away.
Serf thi Gode meiklé, and ye warlde bissylé,
Eit yi met merilé, sua may thou leif,
Gif Gode sendis ye pouerté, Thank ye him rechlé,
For he may mende ye sudenlé, and no man to grief.'

It stands in the original volume of the records next, and as if intended to be complementary to a regulation passed in 1468, enacting that 'Ye ayris at ar now set salbe lauchfull for serving of brevis, falsing of domys and doyng of all wyer justice.' It seemed a strange place to meet with an offering to the Muses: but remembering that poems of Dunbar had been discovered in equally unlikely places,[1] it appeared to be not altogether a hopeless task to attempt to identify the author. Two things at once suggested where enquiry might at least begin, — (1) the year 1468, the latest possible date of the poem, indicated that the anthor must be sought for among poets who flourished as early as that time; and (2) the place of the poem in the original volume of the Records pointed to a clerk in the public service as the transcriber, if not the author.

The identification of the scribe and the determination of the authorship it is needless to say appeared at the outset to be quite unrelated, their intimate connection, however, became apparent as soon as one of the questions had been satisfactorily resolved.

An examination of the Parliamentary Records for the year 1468, preserved in the Register House, and of the Manuscript of *The Wallace*, in the Advocates Library, shewed the penmanship to be identical, from which it followed that the scribe was unquestionably John Ramsay, whose docquet is appended to the unique manuscript of the famous epic. If the indirect evidence afforded *comparatione literarum* by itself might have been regarded by some as inconclusive, the subsequent discovery, on a second and more careful examination of the Original

[1] Two poems of Dunbar were found, one by Dr. Laing in an Aberdeen Register of Sasines, and another by Dr. Aeneas J. G. Mackay in a copy of the *Regiam Májestatem*.

Records, of the signature 'John Ramsay' at the top of folio 2 page 1 of the Volume V, among the statutes of 1471 seemed to come nearer complete demonstration than could have been expected in the kind of quest I was then pursuing.[1]

The potentiality of the newly discovered fact supplied the stimulus to continued investigation.

As one whose pen was indeed the pen of a ready writer John Ramsay was well enough known alike to his contemporaries and to posterity; but posterity had long ago come to regard him simply as belonging to the tribe Adam scrivener — as one whose 'faults and escapes' in transcription had exercised the ingenuity and taxed the patience of the editors of Barbour and Blynd Harry. For nearly four centuries his connection with the public service had been utterly forgotten.

Let us note here what the editors have said regarding the scribe whose manuscripts furnish the text of both *The Bruce* and *The Wallace.* Dr. Jamieson in a short sketch of Barbour in the excellent edition of *The Bruce* (preface xv edition 1820) quoting a note of an earlier editor of *The Wallace*[2] says that Ramsay was probably 'one of those who wrote chronicles in the monasteries. From writs extant at Perth which belonged to the Carthusian monastery there, it appears that a religious man, Dean John Ramsay of the House of the Valley of Virtue of the Carthusian Order, near the burgh of Perth, was Procurator for the said Monastery, May 23, 1493.[3] The procuratorship was a usual step to the dignity of Prior. Before 1498 John Ramsay ceases to be mentioned as procurator but in April that year John, whose surname is not mentioned in any of the writs of Perth, is Prior, and continues in the prior's office until his death in 1501. He was probably the same person who had been procurator. The transcriber of Henry's Book was therefore, perhaps, a charterhouse monk, who near the end of his life rose to be Prior of his convent'... 'There is certainly great probability' Dr. Jamieson adds, 'in the conjecture that this Ramsay was a monk and that he

[1] Records of Parliament (Robertson's edition, *suppressed*, p. 392). In the Record edition the signature (had it been copied) would appear in *Acta Dom. Audit.* p. 132 following the Sederunt.

[2] Edition, Perth, 1790. [3] *Vide* note p. 61.

resided in or at no great distance from Perth.'[1] Subsequent editors have added nothing to that note, which, as anyone can see, was in its inception merely conjectural — the editor who first suggested it having in a voyage of discovery, sailing without rudder or compass, found a churchman named John Ramsay and fastened on him as the person wanted. There is certainly not a particle of evidence connecting the Carthusian monk with the writer of the manuscripts.

Starting, however, from Ramsay's public employment it became more and more apparent as public records were examined that what Dr. Jamieson approved as 'no improbable conjecture' was wrong in fact, and that John Ramsay, whom he regarded as a mere copyist might be none other than Sir John the Ross, the friend of Dunbar and Kennedy, twice named by these poets in their famous *Flyting* and since their day reckoned one of the 'lost makers' of the fifteenth century.

Let us ask (1) what is known about Sir John the Ross and (2) what have been the editorial conjectures regarding him.

To readers of Dunbar the name is very familiar. In the *Flyting* it occurs in the first poem 'Dunbar to Schir Johne the Ross' the opening lines of which are as follows: —

> Sir Johne the Ross, ane thing their is compild
> In generale be Kennedy and Quinting
> Whilk hes thame self aboif the sternis styld.

And again in the answer 'Kennedie to Dunbar' —

> 'Wan-thriven funling that Natour maid ane yrle
> Baith Johne the Ross and thow sal squeill and skirle
> And evir I heir ocht of your making mair.'

It will be plain to any one who reads the *Flyting* attentively that the person addressed by Dunbar and referred to by Kennedy was a friend of both these poets and was himself a poet, appealed to in the first instance by Dunbar as fit to judge between the combatants. Dunbar is regarding Sir John as a senior who will certainly acknowledge him to be a brother poet and decide as certainly that Kennedy is no poet at all: but the poem must be read as a perfectly friendly wit-combat

[1] John Ramsay who writes both the *Bruce* and the *Wallace* Mss. designates himself simply as a chaplain, a designation which a dignitary of the Carthusian Order would not have been content with under any circumstances.. The Carthusian Ramsay was Proctor in 1487. *Vide, Materials for Hist. of Hen. VII.* (Rec. Publications.)

and not, as some editors have strangely thought, as exhibiting a certain amount of acerbity on both sides.

Then again, in *The Lament for the Makars*, Dunbar numbers his friend among the dead poets, naming him immediately after Henryson —

> 'In Dunfermline he hes done roune
> Gud Maister Robert Henrisoun:
> Schir Johne the Ross embrast hes he;
> Timor mortis conturbat me.'

Here then we have a poet living in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, well known to Dunbar and Kennedy, who has completely evanished — as a dead man out of memory. To bring him forth again into the light may not be easy of accomplishment: it is at any rate worth attempting.

The following note in the recent edition of *Dunbar* (Scot. Text Society Intro. app. cclvi) gathers up the editorial conjectures which have accumulated during fully a century and a half: — 'The name Sir John the Ross is so peculiar that there appears little doubt that he is John the Ross to whom twenty unicorns were paid in February 1490, and who also received another payment of which the amount cannot be read in the Treasurer's accounts on 21 April 1498. He may have been a priest and so received the courtesy title of Sir as was common in the case of the Pope's Knights at that time, and this is the conjecture of Lord Hailes: or a layman who had not in 1498 been yet knighted. If the latter is the correct surmise it gives the date of the *Flyting* as subsequent to 1498. There seems no ground for Mr. Chalmers' conjecture that he was the well known Sir John Ross of Montgrennan the King's advocate of James III who was forfeited for siding with that King at Sauchie against James IV. Nor can he have been Sir John Ross of Hawkhead, Sheriff of Linlithgowshire, 1479—83. It is more probable that he was designed 'the Ross' to distinguish him from Ross of Montgrennan and Ross of Hawkhead. Perhaps he had some connection with the shire of Ross as the last entry in 1498 in the Treasurer's accounts bears that the payment then made to him was 'to mak his expensis in Ros . . .'

Except the entry relating to the payment of the twenty unicorns in 1490 and the surmise that he 'may have been a

priest' connected with Ross it will, I think, be possible to shew that there is not a pennyweight of fact in that long note, and that Sir John the Ross was dead in or soon after 1490.

The error of the editors, in my opinion, has been in taking 'the Ross' for a surname instead of a familiar name of address designating the holder of the office of Ross Herald or the secretary of the Duke, or Chamberlain, of Ross.

While it may frankly be admitted impossible, out of the public records so far as printed, to construct anything deserving the name of a biography of Ramsay, yet, undoubtedly, it is in such 'remnants of history' — the planks of a shipwreck (*tanquam tabula naufragii* in Bacon's felicitous phrase) — that one may hope to recover the most trustworthy facts about him. In admirably edited volumes like the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer* and the *Exchequer Rolls* — which in manuscript form were almost inaccessible to editors of a former time — there is enough at any rate both to disturb earlier conjectures and at the same time to throw a clear light on certain biographical facts lurking in Ramsay's colophons. And if it be still unavoidable to ring the changes on 'the hard driven words' *seems, possibly, probably*, and such like, it is to be hoped at least that extended research among unprinted documents will yet supply whatever is left uncertain in this narrative.

To trace the lineage of John Ramsay is at present scarcely possible, for the surname was borne in the fifteenth century by not a few Scottish families of consequence, many of the cadets of which are met with as then holding places of position in church and state; and among whom, as one would expect, there are several having the Christian name John.[1] We learn, however, on his own authority, that he had been trained as a churchman, and from the newly discovered fact of his being in the public service, probably one of the clerks of the exchequer — a branch of the public service then generally filled by men of birth — it may be assumed that he owed the appointment to family influence. It is noteworthy indeed that among

[1] In the Exchequer Rolls, L. H. T. Accounts, Bain's Calendars, Historical Commission Reports, Panmure Papers, Earl of Northesk Memoirs and such like, we find several John Ramsays. I rather incline to think that the Clerk of Exchequer belonged to the Ramsays of Rammerscales.

the great officers of the exchequer there was one Sir David Guthrie of Kincaldrum (after 1465 always styled 'of Guthrie') a neighbour of the Ramsays of Auchterhouse, who was, in 1468, Lord Clerk Register and *ex officio* Chief Clerk of the Exchequer,[1] by whose patronage it may be the young cleric at first obtained preferment to the royal service. The exchequer as Dr. Dickson observes in the luminous preface to the *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, having no fixed place of abode, usually followed the Court, the Clerks being lodged and maintained at the King's charge. It is easy, therefore, to understand how the clerks, members of the royal household, might become favourites and obtain for themselves the patronage of the sovereign. Between 1468 and 1471 Ramsay appears to have been more particularly engaged in writing the Parliamentary Journals — an employment one must suppose of considerable dignity.[2] For a priest or chaplain to enter the royal service as a clerk or notary was at one time of frequent occurrence, young clerics, by their special training, being better fitted than any other class for the posts which are now always held by the legal or diplomatic professions.[3]

Closely associated also with the Parliament were the officers-at-arms of whom the Lyon was chief. At least a century earlier than the reign of James III the office of herald existed in Scotland. We read of Lyon Herald in 1377 of Rothesay in 1401, of Marchmond in 1436, of Snowdoun in 1448, and of Albany in 1451. Ross Herald is not met with until 1474, but in the rolls mention is made of a pursuivant Diligence who in 1475—6 obtains his salary from the Crown lands of Culessy and who is then referred to as 'Diligence now called the Ross Herald'.[4] As is well known the function

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[1] Accounts L. H. T. pref. xxx.

[2] I did not examine the register to see the earliest and latest dates: 1468 is the date of the poem engrossed in the record, 1471 the date when he wrote his signature in the same volume.

[3] Dunbar, *preface*.

[4] Deligens signifero, percipienti annuatim decem libras pro feodo suo de firmis terrarum de Culessy de anno compoti x li. (Excheq. Rolls 1472—3) No. 264: also ibid. 1471 pp. 177. 232. 292. Deligens signifero, nunc Ross heraldo nuncupato, xli. Ibid. (1475—6) No. 270.

of the heralds and pursuivants was to attend the Sovereign at Parliament and on certain high festivals to make proclamations, marshall public processions, serve certain parliamentary writs, and frequently to act as royal messengers to foreign courts. Most of these duties,[1] as the records shew, were performed by the pursuivant Diligence and Ross Herald between 1474 and the date of his death.

It may be noted in passing that payments to pursuivants and heralds appear in the rolls without any mention of the surname of these officers, and what is perhaps more remarkable charters under the Great Seal were directed 'to our lovite the Ross Herald' and 'to our lovite the Marchmond Herald' with nothing *in gremio* designating the individual.[2] The grantee doubtless easily obtained his rights at the time, but it is certainly matter of regret now to meet with a formula so defective in the important essential of designation.

In the *Accounts of the L. H. Treasurer* disbursements are entered with great minuteness and are not stereotyped in style as in the rolls. The miscellaneous nature of the payments easily accounts for the more homely kind of book-keeping followed by the treasurer and his assistants, many being doles by the king, trifling enough, one would have thought to have been slumped at the annual audit as petty payments or sundries. But a great charm of these household expenses undoubtedly lies in the very minuteness of the entries, and their value as an historical record is much enhanced thereby. Unfortunately, however, only one account is extant relating to the reign of James III, viz., from August 1473 to December 1474. In it we meet with Diligence twice, once as the parliamentary pursuivant summoning the Earls of Crawford and Buchan to answer for an unlawful gathering of armed retainers, and again as a messenger passing to London for letters

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[1] Vide Calend. of Doc. Bain: Vol. 4 p. 413 & Citationi infra.

[2] * * damus et concedimus dilecto et familiari servitori herraldo nostro Ross nuncupato pro suo fideli servicio nobis impensis et impendendo in suo feodo terras nostras de Estir Cullesey cum pertinenciis * * * * (26 Jan. 1477 Reg. Mag. Sig. lib. viii). Marchmont obtained a similar charter. The lands of Culessey seem to have been very commonly given to the officers-at-arms for their salaries. The estate came to be known in the XVIth century as Halhill.

of safe-conduct 'to certane lordis':[1] but the only Ramsay named is Sir John Ramsay of Corston, sheriff of Forfar, father of the Earl of Bothwell, the well known favourite of the king.

When the *Accounts* relating to the reign of James IV are reached — embracing the decade 1488 to 1498 — we find three payments to 'Ross Herald' between 1488 and 1489, and one on 8th. May, 1490, to 'Johne the Ross'. If the 1490 entry refers to John Ramsay as 'the Ross' herald it must have been the last he received from the household treasurer, for the Exchequer Rolls of the same year chronicle his decease.[2]

Examined carefully, these household accounts of James IV shew that there were at least four John Ramsays frequently at Court — (1) Sir John Ramsay of Corston, always so styled; (2) Sir John Ramsay, styled sometimes 'knight' or by territorial designation 'of Trarinyeane';[3] (3) Sir John of Kilgour, a cleric of Dunblane diocese, serving in the Royal household; and (4) Sir John the Ross, whom I believe to be the Ross Herald or one of the secretaries of the Duke of Ross or Chamberlain of Ross. One may easily imagine how, in order to distinguish the one John from the other, the royal servants would readily adopt the familiar names Sir John of Kilgour and Sir John the Ross for two of their number, and at the same time prevent confusion between courtiers and servants.

Thus far we have been following closely the public records. It is time to turn now to the few biographical scraps supplied by Ramsay himself, and examine these in the light of what has been gleaned from the exchequer rolls and household accounts. There are five manuscripts of his each having a colophon. The oldest of these, *The Bruce*, now in the Library of St. John's College Cambridge, tells us that it was finished

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[1] Accounts L. H. T. pp. 51. 69. 89: also Rotuli Scot. Vol. 11 p. 441. I have not cited all the references to Diligence, these being very much repetitions one of the other.

[2] Excheq. Rolls Voll. X, A. D. 1490 et quondam Ross heraldo de terris de Cullessy sibi alias concessis de dictis duobus annis j celdra; and in the appendix in the Rental ... Cullessy assedatur Johan. Knollis pro terminis ut supra per mortem quondam Ross heraldi. *Vide* als *Acta. Dom. Conc. voce* Culessey.

[3] John Ramsay of Balmain the forfeited Earl of Bothwell in 1488. Sir John Ramsay the king's Advocate when styled Sir John the Ross is always designated 'Of Montgrennan'.

on August 28, 1487 by the hand of J. de R. chaplain — 'Explicit liber excellentissimi et nobilissimi principis Roberti de Broyss Scottorum regis illustrissimi qui quidem liber scriptus fuit et finitus in vigilia sancti Johannis Baptiste, viz., docollacio ejusdem per manum J. de R. capellani anno domini 1487.' The same manuscript also contains two short poems both written 'by the same hand at the same time' — the one entitled 'How the Good Wife taught her Daughter' with this colophon, 'Explicit documentum matris ad filiam per manum J. de R. capñi,' the other, a Dietary, a version of a poem by Lydgate rendered into lowland Scottish dialect, having the colophon 'Explicit documentum valde utile quod I to ȝow, &c.'. Next in order of date comes *The Wallace*, attested thus — 'Explicit vita nobilissimi Defensoris Scotie, viz., Willielmi Wallace militis per me Johannem Ramsay, anno domini 1488'. It is bound in the same volume with the copy of *The Bruce* (in the Advocates Library) having this colophon — 'Finitur Codicellus de virtutibus et actibus bellicosis, viz., Domini Roberti Broyss, quondam Scottorum regis illustrissimi, raptim scriptus per me Johannem Ramsay, ex jussu venerabilis et circumspecti viri viz., Magistri Symonis Lochmalony de Ouchtermounsye, vicarii bene digni anno domini 1489. Anima domini Roberti Bruyss et anime omnium fidelium defunctorum per Dei manum requiescant in pace. Amen. Amen. Amen.

Desine grande loqui frangit Deus omne superbum
Magna cadunt inflata crepant tumefacta premuntur
Scandunt celsa humiles trahuntur ad yma feroces
Vincit opus verbum minuit jactancia famam.

Per ea viscera Marie virginis que portauerunt eterni Patris Filium. Amen'.

For my present purpose it is enough to direct attention to the fact that Ramsay was a chaplain, and so, being a pope's knight was by courtesy addressed as Sir John Ramsay. Thrice he writes his name at length 'John Ramsay' and 'Johannes Ramsay' and three times contracts it into 'J. de R.' What does J. de R. signify? Not surely 'John de Ramsay' as Professor Skeat translates it — perhaps naturally enough, considering that he had no inkling of the biography of the scribe — for that form of the name is rarely found in Scotland after the middle of the fourteenth century, and manifestly it

was not used by Ramsay when he wrote his name in full. As it seems to me, in the light of the records, it was meant to stand for 'Johannes de Ross' the equivalent of which is, of course, the *de quo queritur*, Johne the Ross — or, writ large, Sir John Ramsay, Ross Herald or Ross Secretary.

In this connection it is important to note that we have a parallel instance in England of a herald using his official designation instead of his surname, namely, on the title page of a work on English Orthography by J. H. Chester, published in 1569. The author was John Hart, Chester Herald, and Dr. Gill calls him 'e fecialibus unus, qui eorum more ex gradu officii nomen sibi *Chester* assumpsit'. He is cited as *Master Chester* by Bullokar.[1]

But the autobiographical value of the colophons is enhanced by much internal evidence in the manuscript of *The Wallace* — by a certain discoverable egotism, as one might say, in whole passages which seem to be confidences and asides meant for the ear of the good reader. Harry, it must be remembered was born blind, and his work, as has been pointed out more than once, is consequently exposed to two different sources of weakness. 'All his information' as the Marquess of Bute neatly puts it 'had to get to him by means of other persons and his digest of it had to reach the reading public by the same means. I do not know if any instance exists of a man born blind mastering a dead language; but if ever it did, it can hardly have done so in the fifteenth century so that the poet was almost entirely dependent on a translator also'.[2] The unique manuscript which preserved the poem till the printing press multiplied the digest for the reading public was written by John Ramsay; so much is not doubtful. Did he sit with Blind Harry and write to dictation the 11,800 odd lines which make up that national epic? And are we to believe that the blind minstrel recited his lines in Chaucerian heroic stanza just as we find them set down in the manuscript? Then indeed must Ramsay have meant what he wrote in 1468 — 'Prent in ye patiens' and by the year 1488, when

[1] Ellis. Vol. 1, 35 & Englische Studien XXII p. 331.

[2] Bute p. 13. The allusion to the need of a translator is of course to the many references to the Latin original which the poet constantly cites & professes to follow.

he had bidden adieu to Harry, have become himself a past-master in the shining virtue which is claimed in perfection for only one patriarch; and Harry's performance too, for many reasons besides his skill in versification, must be regarded, to quote Professor Schipper, as 'the most wonderful phenomenon in literature'.

At this stage of the enquiry I shall suggest two things in *The Wallace* that make for John Ramsay being (1) the collaborateur with Harry, skilled enough in versification to have been reputed one of the fifteenth century makars and (2) a herald by profession.

(1) A reader, long before he has gone through the eleven books into which *The Wallace* is now conveniently divided, will have discovered that there is a Sir John Ramsay of Ouchterhous who figures among the chiefest of the doughty companions of the hero. That the Ramsay family was an ancient and honourable one can be proved by thirteenth century charters, but history — apart from Harry — knows nothing about the martial achievements under Wallace of the Knight Sir John. His son, Sir Alexander, once mentioned in *The Bruce* in a long list of knights and squires, as

> The Ramsay als of Ouchterhous
> That wes wycht and chewalrous

has no outstanding place in the story of *The Bruce.* But it is otherwise with Sir John Ramsay in *The Wallace.* In that poem he is one of the heroes. From the moment he is introduced into the narrative, in Book Seventh, he shares the honours with Sir John the Graeme. Wallace consults him about the taking of Perth; he is guide of the host in the march thither; along with Graeme, Boyd and Lundy, he is in the battle —

> All in the stour fast fechtand face to face.

The great prominence given to him time after time will be remarked even by an uncritical reader. Let me cite the passage in Book Seventh, l. 890 where the poet introduces Sir John, and for the moment forgets that he is singing of William Wallace.

> Schir Jhon Ramsay, that rychtwys ayr was borne
> Off Ouchterhous, and othir landis was lord
> And schirreff als, as my buk will record;

Off nobill blud, and als haill ancestre
Contenyt weill with worthi chewalre
In till Straithern that lang time he had beyne,
At gret debait aganys his enemys keyne;
Rycht wichtly wan his lewing in to wer;
Till him and his, Sotheroun did mekill der;
Weill eschewit and sufferyt gret distress.
His sone was cald the flour off courtlyness;
As witness weill in to the schort tretty
Eftir the Bruce, quha redis in that story.
He rewllitt weill bathe in to wer and pes;
Alexander Ramsay to nayme he hecht, but les.
Quhen it wer wer till armes he him kest;
Undir the croun he wes ane off the best;
In tyme of pees till courtlynes he yeid,
Bot to gentrice he tuk nayne othir heid.
Quhat gentill man had nocht with Ramsay beyne,
Off courtlynes thai cownt him nocht a preyne.
Fredome and treuth he had as men would ass
Sen he begane na bettyr squier was.
Roxburch hauld he wan full manfully
Syne held it lang, quhill tratouris tresonably
Causit his dede, I can nocht tell yow how:
Off sic thingis I will ga by as now.
I haiff had blayme to say the suthfastnes;
Tharfor I will bot lychtly ryn that cace
Bot it be thing that playnly sclanderit is;
For sic I trew thai suld deyme me no myss.
Off gud Alexander as now I spek no mar.
His fadyr come, as I told off befor;
Wallace off hym rycht full gud comford hais
For weill he could do gret harmyng till his fais,
In wer he was rycht mekill for to prys,
Besy and trew, baith sobyr wycht and wys.'

I confess I was gratified though not greatly surprised to find Dr. Moir who only once casually mentions the manuscripts as written 'by a John Ramsay' adding this note to the lines I have quoted at length: — 'This digression in praise of the Ramsays seems to me due to the fact that the scribe who wrote the only existing copy of the manuscript was a John Ramsay'. If in these passages glorifying the Ramsays we are dealing with a cipher which was meant to escape suspicion then surely is it to be reckoned a notable example of *ciphra simplex.*

Less obvious than the laudation of Sir John and Sir Alexander Ramsay is a minor touch in a line quoted in an

earlier chapter. In the description of the retreat of the English down Nithsdale it will be remembered we are told of fugitives overtaken and slain at Lochermoss 'beside Crouchmaid'.[1] Dr. Moir was unable to identify the place, but that need not be wondered at, for it is not set down on maps, neither is it found in gazateers or guide books. It designates a little hill situate in Tinwald parish on the march of Torthorwald, known by name to very few except parishioners. Even in a poem remarkable as *The Wallace* unquestionably is for topographical colour, it is extraordinary to find such an insignificant hill deemed worthy of even passing notice. When we find, however, that in the 15th. century the Ramsays of Ramerskailis, hereditary captains of Lochmaben, cadets of the Dalwolsey family, were owners of a wide territory around Crouchmaid,[2] one wonders if the occurrence of the obscure place name is not best explained as a little familiar touch that reveals the hand of a Ramsay.

But we are able, by examining other works possessing marked and clear characteristics, to form a more decisive judgement on the question of Ramsay's skill as a versifier.

I have already indicated some reasons which have led me to suggest that Sir John Ramsay and Sir John the Ross are one and the same individual; and in further proof of that opinion I would now invite attention to a group of poems in the Bannatyne Ms. In the second part of that invaluable miscellany 'conteneand verry singular Ballatis full of Wisdome and Moralatie' several short poems are classed under the title *Documenta*, one (No. LXXX) being a more complete version of the little poem which Ramsay in an idle hour inserted among the statutes of the realm. Bannatyne gives it as follows: —

'In grit tribulationn And mekle vexatioun
Haif sobir inclinatioun, And that sall the mend,
Be pacient in persone, With humill deuotioun
Thow think on the Passioun, Quhat kyndnes wes kend.

Be meik but derisioun, With faythfull effectioun
Thow rewll the with ressoun, With mesure thow spend,
Free cankerit corruptioun, And wicket temptatioun,
Thy brukle affectioun, Thow dayly defend.

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[1] Vide note, supra, p. 19. [2] 3. Jan. 1426: Reg. Mag. Sig. 71.

Thow mak thy confessioun, To Chryst with deuotioun
To be thi protectioun, And succour the send:
Syne mak satisfactioun With verrie discretioun
To be thi remissioun Quhen thow sall hyne wend.

Thow Chryst, for thy Passioun, Grant us redemptioun
Quhilk may be our saluatioun At our last end.
Thow mak supplicatioun To win the he pardoun
And this my conclusioun I bring to ane end:

finis

Serue thy God meikly And the warld besely;
Eit thy meit merrely, And so thow may leif,
Gif he sendis the pouerty Thank thow him richly
For he may mend the suddanly And no man to greif.

finis[1]

Grund thé in patience, Blind nocht thy conscience,
Do thy God reuerence, Thankand him ay,
Dress thé with diligence To put away negligence
Ceiss thé with sufficence, This warld will away.

finis.

Now it is rather remarkable to observe that the piece (No. LXXIX) is the identical one, the Dietary, copied by John Ramsay at the end of the St. John's Cambridge Ms. of *The Bruce.* Is the coming together of these two poems in the Bannatyne Ms. merely a coincidence?

In the Bannatyne Ms. they are anonymous, but as we have seen, Ramsay has demonstrably a certain connection with both poems. To the *Dietary*, indeed, it will be remembered he added the uncommon and personal colophon 'Explicit documentum valde utile, quod I to ȝow'. And although as Professor Skeat remarks 'it is a rendering into Lowland Scottish of a poem attributed to Lydgate' the version nevertheless in the St. John's Ms. possesses a character all its own. That Ramsay followed Lydgate is certain; but it is equally certain that he knew the Latin original, preferring its arrangement and translating it much more closely than did Lydgate. As a metrical achievement Ramsay's is admittedly the most felicitous of all the versions still extant in manuscripts.

But a closer scrutiny of Bannatyne's manuscript shews also that others of the pieces (between numbers LXXIII and LXXXI) exhibit striking idiosyncracies which point to Ramsay

[1] This and the preceding *finis* are a mistake occasioned by Bannatyne failing to understand the two closing verses as the 'conclusion'.

as the author. The same strain of moralising — as even a cursory examination discovers — pervades them all. Some of them read very much like metrical exercises and there is close correspondence between more than one of them, both as regards versification and diction, with passages of *The Wallace*. Compare for example the metre of the nine line verse in Bannatyne (p. 203) beginning '*Remembir riches, remembir pouerte*' with *The Wallace* (B. II l. 216) beginning '*Compleyn Sanctis*'; and also lines like

'Quha takis nocht tyme, bot lattis ay ouerslyd'

and

'Bot for a tyme quhilk suddanly ourslydis'

with *The Wallace*, e. g.

'That wald he think to leiff and lat our slyd.' (B. V. l. 615)

and

'This matir now herfor I will ourslyde.' (B. IV. l. 415)

as well as the lines quoted in a preceding chapter from the proem.

I must, however, resist the temptation to enter upon any exhaustive discussion of the problems presented by the Bannatyne manuscript as it would lead me beyond the scope of my present enquiry.[1] For my purpose it is enough to have drawn attention to the fact that the two poems transcribed by John Ramsay in 1468 and 1479 are brought together by Bannatyne and stand, besides, among other eight or ten pieces, which, judged by the general standard of style, appear to be of common authorship. Bannatyne, we know, compiled his Buik from 'copies awld, mankit and mutillait' of the works of 'poyetis gent'; he says so himself. We can, therefore, readily believe that he would preserve verses of a distinguished makar like Sir John the Ross, the friend of Dunbar and Kennedie; and once that is granted, it is something to be able to connect John Ramsay with two poems of the group and to find that others, tested by versification and diction, evidence a close relationship to *The Wallace*.

But we can enlarge the range of the evidence. Wyntoun, it is well known, has preserved in his *Cronykil* some 280 lines of *The Bruce* 'in a better form' as Professor Skeat tells us than they are found in the Edinburgh Ms. of *The Bruce* 'and

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[1] I hope to do so in a separate criticism before long.

as both the Royal and Cotton Mss. of the *Cronykil* are actually *older* than either of the extant manuscripts of *The Bruce* the text given by Wyntoun of these lines is actually *superior* in some respects to that of the text in the present edition (Scot. Text Society) of *The Bruce.* We cannot, however, be quite sure as to the extent to which he modified the language of the Ms. which he must have had before him.' Professor Skeat is correct so far: he had not, however, before him at the time when he expressed the opinion all the evidence available. He was regarding John Ramsay as a scribe and nothing more; and he believed that the Edinburgh and Cambridge Mss. substantially preserved the text of *The Bruce* as John Barbour bequeathed it to his countrymen. My own opinion, after careful examination, is that the text has been much tampered with in the fifteenth century by John Ramsay.

Let us turn for a moment to another poem in the Cambridge Ms. *How the Good Wife taught her Daughter* which is 'in the same hand and written at the same time' as *The Bruce* and *The Dietary.* It has been suggested elsewhere[1] that the oldest and best version of the *Good Wife* is contained in another Scottish manuscript, now in the University Library, Cambridge (Kk. 1. 6.) which preserves a pure northern text of the first half of the fifteenth century. Be that as it may, it is at least undeniable that Ramsay's version follows most closely the Scottish original. The other six known copies of the poem differ widely from the University College Ms. (Kk. 1. 6.) and Ramsay's. When we collate the two last mentioned texts we find a surprising number of emendations made by Ramsay as if with a view to improve the diction and smooth the scansion of the original. He appears also unhesitatingly to add lines of his own. Now, the emendations and additions are precisely of the same kind as those met with when we collate Ramsay's version of the *Dietary* with Lydgate's, and the 280 lines of *The Bruce* in Wyntoun with the Edinburgh Ms. No doubt scribes as a class often took liberties in transcribing, but in the case of John Ramsay the changes are uniform and consistent; they are manifestly made by one who was conscious of his own skill as a versifier and wishful at

[1] Scottish Antiquary Vol. XI, 1897, p. 145 and Bonner Beiträge heft V.

the same time to amend his original whenever he thought it needed improvement.

Two passages in particular of *The Bruce*, not found in Wyntoun, are most noteworthy. The one is the much bepraised

> 'A! freedom is a noble thing' (B. I. l. 285)

the other (B. I. 4. 515) extending to 53 lines containing literary allusions to the Trojan War, Alexander, Julius Caesar and Arthur. On the latter Professor Skeat comments at large when stating the argument for John Barbour being the author of a translation of *The Brut* — an argument in my opinion not tenable and wholly proceeding on a fundamental error in the interpretation of a single line in Wyntoun's *Cronykil*. That second passage, it appears to me, is simply another instance of cunning adaptation of Chaucerian and other literature, which Barbour cannot have known, but with which Ramsay was demonstrably perfectly acquainted. I prefer, however, to deal with it in separate chapters in order to avoid a discussion that to a considerable extent touches *The Bruce* itself more than *The Wallace*. The main point I wish at present to emphasise is that Ramsay's manuscripts pretty conclusively shew him to be much more than a mere scribe.

(2) And now for the instances of heraldry. In Book Sixth,[1] when the English king was encamped near Biggar, we are told that he dispatched two heralds to charge Wallace

> 'that he sulde cum him till
> Witht out promyss and put him in his will.'

Along with them went a young squire — a nephew of the king — 'dysgysit' as an officer-at-arms.

> 'A cot off armes he took on him but baid
> With the harroldis full prewaly he raid'

and came to Tinto where Wallace then was. Then follows the parley. The heralds present their writ —

> 'Credence we haiff brocht fra our worthi king —

and having read it, Wallace delivers his letter to the English king —

> 'This wryt he gaiff to the harroldis but mar
> And gud reward he gart delyver thar.'

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[1] ll. 341—427.

On the point of setting forth on their return journey, the disguised herald is discovered, and then follows the summary trial and terrible doom. Squire, says Wallace —

> 'sen thow has fenyeit armys
> On thé sall fall the first part off thir harmys
> Sampill to geyff till all thi fals natioune.'
> Apon the hill he gert thaim set him doune,
> Straik off his hed or thai wald forthyr go.
> To the herrold said syne with outyn ho,
> 'For thow art falss till armys and maynsuorn
> Throuch thi chokkis thi tong sall be out schorn.'
> Quhen that way doyne, than to the thrid said he,
> 'Armyss to juge thow sall neuir graithly se.'
> He gert a smyth with his turkas rycht thar
> Pow out his eyne, syne gaiff them leiff to far.
> 'To your falss king thi fallow sall thow leid
> With my ansuer turss him his newois head;
> Thus sar I drede the king and all his bost.'[1]

Then, again, in Book Eighth, we have the King of France sending a herald inviting Wallace to pay a visit to the French Court.[2] The royal letter is in the courtliest terms, but it contains not the message proper and Wallace is asked to hearken to the herald and accept what he tells as the king's 'closs lettir'. The herald sets out for Scotland and 'harold lyk he sekis' for Wallace. When they are met we have a perfect narration of minute ceremonial and when all is over and Wallace has accepted the invitation we are told —

> 'The harrold baid on to the twenty day
> With Wallace still iu gud weilfayr and play;
> Conteude the tyme with worship and plesaunce.'

And again Wallace

> 'Rycht rych reward he gaiff the harrold tho
> And him convoyed when he had leyff to go
> Out of the toun with gudly companye.'

I have cited these as two of the best examples. In them are we not being shewn the herald's office by a herald? The punctilios are minutely described; the 'largesse' which no herald ever could forget is lovingly dwelt on; the heralds

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[1] Readers will remember the disguised herald dispatched by Louis XI to Edward IV related by Comines and the use made of the incident by Sir Walter Scott in *Quentin Durward.*

[2] B. VIII. ll. 1620—1694.

'fals doom till armys' hear their doon rehearsed as Lyon might have done in a court of chivalry. Is it credible that a 'bural man' born blind and living in the fifteenth century could have given these details, which, be it noted, are found not merely in the text but in the very texture of the poem itself? And if not, who else than John Ramsay can have been Harry's collaborateur? If so much be granted it will not be difficult to believe that the lost makar Schir Johne the Ross may have been Ross Herald, and is found again in Sir John Ramsay, the Clerk of Exchequer.

A Review and Conclusion.

We may now briefly sum up the conclusions to which we are led by our enquiry.

In order to be received the external testimony must be consistent with the intrinsic, and for that reason it is desirable now to determine how far there is concurrence between the two kinds of evidence adduced. It is beyond dispute that in the second half of the fifteenth century there was a Scottish poet known to his contemporaries as Blynd Harry. We must also hold that he obtained his fame as a composer of gests relating to William Wallace which he recited before men of rank, receiving food and raiment as reward. His itinerant character and humble rank are borne out by the explicit statement of John Major corroborated as it is by the accounts of the royal Treasurer and the allusion in *The Droichis Part of the Play.*

But there is a conflict of evidence beyond this point, for, if we are to believe that Harry truly was blind from his birth then it is certain that he cannot be the author of *The Wallace.* The great length of the poem would by itself furnish an argument against memorial composition — an argument all the more formidable when regard is had to the fact that four centuries ago there was in Scotland no proper provision for the education of the blind. We do not, however, require to rest our conclusions merely on a general objection; the intrinsic evidence examined in detail is clear and convincing. By the organic unity; the minutely particular topography; the Chaucerian and other influence on versification and thought;

the extensive acquaintance with Romance literature; the direct borrowing from chronicles, — by all these we can negative the tradition. One must be destitute of mental vision who believes that the deliberate selection traceable through every book of *The Wallace* is compatible with congenital blindness.

Neither is it possible to believe that, in the present form of the poem, we possess the gests as they were recited by Harry before his patrons. At the same time it must be admitted that the external evidence points to some connection of the blind poet with *The Wallace.* There is an unbroken tradition regarding the authorship down to the present day — a tradition not to be lightly brushed aside merely because it is difficult to reconcile it with the experimental evidence. It is indeed not altogether inconsistent with that evidence; and consequently in so far as it is capable of being explained by any reasonable hypothesis it merits attention and consideration.

The most probable explanation, it appears to me, is this: — Harry, a poor blind man, dwelling in or near Linlithgow, was one of the numerous class of itinerant performers who obtained admission occasionally to the Court in order to amuse the king and courtiers. His special talent was that of a raconteur of gests relating to William Wallace, folk stories picked up on his journeyings and turned by him into verse. If he was a dwarf, — as *The Droichis Part of the Play* suggests, — his recitation of gests recounting the prowess of the national hero would doubtless be all the more mirth provoking on that account. The five small doles made to him by the royal Treasurer nearly synchronise with the colophon of John Ramsay. It may very well be that in Harry we have the begetter of *The Wallace*, his metrical effusions suggesting to the clerk John Ramsay a theme for a national epic worthy to be in some measure complementary to *The Bruce* of John Barbour.

An examination of *The Wallace* itself favours such a view. In the three opening books, and only in these, are found folk tales such as might have been recited by a person like Harry. In Book I for example are the gests (a) *How Wallace slew young Selby the Constabillis Sone of Dundee*; (b) *The flycht of Wallace and his mother*; (c) *How Wallace passit to the wattir of Irwyn to tak fische*: in Book II (d) *The slaying of Perseis Stewart*; (e) *Wallace's escape from Prisoun and the succour*

rendrit to him by his Norice; and in Book III (f) *How Wallace slew the Bucklar player in the Toun of Air.* These are all unknown to the true history and would very accurately be described as 'farleis' such as might have been included in Harry's repertoire. It is most noticeable that the three opening books are very much shorter than all the others. Book I extends to 448 lines, Book II to 441, Book III to 444, while the average of the other eight books is 1315 lines. The fact that the three books are written in the heroic couplet, varied at one place for artistic effect to the nine line stanza used by Chaucer in the *Compleynte of Faire Anelida*, indicates that the composer of these books must have been an accomplished metrist who knew well how to avail himself of the best models. A poor blind ignorant man, a mere strolling minstrel, no matter what his natural poetic talent, is not to be readily assumed to have been the first among Scottish poets to employ versification at once so artificial and so elaborate. The folk tales may originally have been obtained from him and worked into an artistic narrative by Ramsay. The Proem, largely derived from the *Gest Historiale*, Wyntoun and Bower strikes the unmistakeable note of a literary epic addressed to an educated audience. From Book IV to Book XI the influence of a poet such as we conceive Harry to have been is nowhere discernible.[1] The theme is henceforth handled by one who constructs the framework of history by the aid of chronicles and strives to enliven the narrative by a variety of episodes calculated to win the attention of his readers. Such embellishments are borrowed liberally from Barbour, Wyntoun, Bower, the *Gest Historiale, Morte Arthure*, Chaucer and Holland.

[1] The highly romantic episode told in B. viii where the Queen of England comes to Wallace to sue for peace is certainly not in any sense to be called a folk tale. Its literary excellence is beyond question. I do not know any source that might have suggested it. The case is different with the Sea Fight between Wallace & the Rede Reffayr in B. IX. For it the *Scotichronicon* furnishes a hint. In the Cupar Ms., Lib. XI ch. 35 we read 'Post enim conflictum de Rosslyn Wallace ascensa navi Franciam petiit; ubi quanta probitate resulsit, tam super mare à piratis quam in Francia ab Anglis perpessus est discrimina, et viriliter se habuit, nonnalla carmina, tam in ipsa Francia quam Scotia, attestantur'. The story as told in The Wallace shews considerable literary finish & is not to be classed as a folk tale.

At this stage it is natural to enquire concerning John Ramsay. It will be remembered that Dr. Moir's annotation of one passage is that it is a 'digression in praise of the Ramsays which seems to be due to the fact that the scribe who wrote the only existing copy of the Ms. was John Ramsay' — a just observation as every one can see who reads the poem critically. The importance of the discovery is considerable because it plainly shews on the part of John Ramsay a desire to brighten up the genealogy and transmit to posterity the renown of the Ramsay family. Except that the Ramsay lines seem frequently to be brought into the narrative *par cheveux* there is nothing remarkable about them. They are quite equal as specimens of versification to any other lines in the poem.

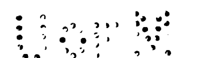
We are thus in possession of evidence that the writer of the Wallace ms. could furnish out a verse of his own when occasion required. But for centuries no one has regarded him as anything more than a mere copyist. His *Bruce* and *Wallace* manuscripts have been printed time after time by editors who neither suspected contamination of the authentic text of John Barbour nor questioned the authorship of Blind Harry. But a careful collation of these and other manuscripts throws new light on the personality of the scribe. We may notice at the outset (1) the directness of the colophon of *The Wallace* — 'explicit per me Johannem Ramsay' and (2) the curious personal colophon of the *Dietary* — 'explicit documentum valde utile, quọd I to ȝow'. The last mentioned piece, it will be remembered, is a rendering into the Scottish vernacular of a poem translated from the Latin by Lydgate, Ramsay's version, however, shewing independent use of the Latin original and being in many respects superior to Lydgate's. So too in the case of another poem derived from an early Scottish original — *How the Goodwife taught her Daughter* — we find Ramsay by a free exercise of the editorial function producing a version very largely his own. His embellishment of *The Bruce* — discussed separately in subsequent chapters — shews the extent to which he ventured on an expansion of Barbour's text. And besides these we have the evidence of the Bannatyne *Miscellany*, in which the little poem *Prent in ye Patience* (transcribed by Ramsay among the statutes of the realm) and the *Dietary* (at the end of the Cambridge Ms. of *The Bruce*) are

found side by side in company with other short pieces allied in style, pointing to common authorship and to their being a selection made by Bannatyne from the works of one of the early Scottish poets.

But perhaps some one will ask how it happens that we hear nothing about John Ramsay from his contemporaries. How comes it, for example, that Dunbar omits all mention of him in *The Lament for the Makars*? If he was the accomplished poet and editor that we suppose him to have been surely he should have been named along with Heriot, Sir Mungo Lockhart, Sandy Traill, the 'gude gentle Stobo', Patrick Johnston, Merseir and other lost makars.

The answer to such questions may not be so difficult as at first sight it appears. After the lapse of centuries many things become obscure that were once perfectly clear.[1] Dunbar's *Lament* indeed is itself a case in point. In 1508 when it was first printed every one would know, or could easily have learned from Dunbar himself, all about the twenty one national poets alluded to in that poem. Yet truth to tell more than a half of them are in the present day mere shades, dead men clean out of memory: while another Sir Hugh of Eglinton, is merely surmised to be the poet whom Wyntoun designates affectionately as Huchown of the Awle Ryale. The fact that Dunbar opened his famous *Flyting* by an address to Sir John the Ross leaves us in no doubt concerning the time when that poet flourished, and is, besides, the best evidence we could have for holding that the friend, the chosen umpire in the wit combat with Kennedy, was himself a poet of recognised standing. It would be strange indeed if in 'the copies awld mankit and mutillait' of the works of 'poyettis gent' from which Bannatyne compiled his splendid *Miscellany*, there should not have been verses by Dunbar's friend. It surely is therefore significant, as we have pointed out, to find poems,

[1] As Renan very truly remarks, there are no historical or literary questions so difficult to solve as those in which it is sought to recover from the past, some of the predicaments created by the modern spirit. Scruples as to authorship and bibliography had but little existence in the earlier centuries. The strict individuality of a book is a recent idea. Printing itself, which has in course of time produced so profound a change in that respect, modified but slowly the habits of the public.



still extant in John Ramsay's autograph, preserved in separate manuscripts, grouped together in Bannatyne's Miscellany; and if from valid evidence it be possible to point to several things that suggest the identification of John Ramsay as Sir John the Ross we shall be able, in bringing him again into the light, not merely to rescue from anonymity some specimens of his occasional verse but also to come closer to a full understanding of both *The Wallace* and *The Bruce* as historical documents.

If Sir John Ramsay was known to his contemporaries as Sir John the Ross, the use of the familiar designation by his friend Dunbar explains the seeming omission of the name of Sir John Ramsay from the catalogue of the 15th century makars. Before recapitulating the facts that make for identification it is proper to point out that at least one other poet is alluded to in the *Lament* by a familiar designation. We hear of 'gude gentle Stobo'. Now it is certain that the poet was an ecclesiastic, Sir John Reid, a clerk in the Secretary's office, who received a pension from James III in 1474. His common designation 'Stobo', Dr. Dickson conjectures, referred to the place of his birth or to a benefice enjoyed by him as a public servant.[1] His identification is rendered possible by the incidental mention of him in the Great Seal Register as 'John Reide *alias* Stobo'. It is probable enough therefore that the name Sir John the Ross is only another instance of the same kind.

Let us see how far facts support the conjecture as reasonable.

(1) John Ramsay being a chaplain was entitled to the courtesy title of *Sir*. There is perfect agreement in the title and Christian name — 'Sir John'.

(2) To interpret J. de R. as Johannes de Ramsay is liable to objection on two separate grounds. In the first place it conflicts with three distinct examples of the usual and ordinary signature of Ramsay. In 1467 he subscribed his name in English in the Parliamentary records as 'John Ramsay': in 1488 in Latin, in the *Wallace* Ms., as 'Johannes Ramsay': and again similarly in 1489 in the Edinburgh Ms. of *The Bruce*. And in the second place 'Johannes de Ramsay' exhibits a form of the name not in common use in Scotland so late as

[1] Accounts L. H. T. preface.



1487, the date of the Cambridge Ms. of *The Bruce.* It is far more likely therefore that the initials stand for 'Johannes de Ross' the Latin equivalent of John the Ross.

(3) The particular department of the public service in which Ramsay was employed is not easily ascertainable owing to the paucity of records. He may have served under the Chamberlain of Ross as one of the secretaries or clerks. Professor Skeat remarks that the Edinburgh Ms. of *The Bruce* appears from the colophon to have been written by Ramsay 'at the command of Sir Simon Lochmalony of Ouchtermunsye vicar in 1489' and from the fact that the vicar bore a Fife name and held a living in a Fife parish the editorial conclusion is that 'this connects John Ramsay with Fife'. The connection it seems to me is somewhat remote: at any rate it is more important to note that the Chamberlain of Ross between 1464 and 1493 was Sir Thomas Lochmalony, the dignitary, it may be, who solicited the transcript for his relative. The surname was not then and is not now a common one in Scotland. Or, Ramsay may have been a clerk or secretary in the household of James, second son of James III, created Earl of Ormond[1] in 1475—6 and Duke of Ross in 1488. One of that Prince's officers of arms was a pursuivant Ormond. Another pursuivant of the same period was named Diligence. The name might well at first have been descriptive of the active diligent clerk whose little homily —

'Dress ye withe diligence to put awaye negligence'

still arrests the attention of every reader of the original Parliamentary record. That Diligence was connected with the household of the Prince is scarcely doubtful, for, when advanced to the higher office of herald in 1475 the Treasurer describes him as 'Diligence now called Ross Herald'.[2]

(4) In public documents the heralds are almost invariably designated only by their official name, Marchmond, Albany, Snowdoun, Bute, Ross &c.; and they were addressed, and spoke

[1] Ormond was a territorial title connected with the Ross Earldom.

[2] It may be mentioned that another poet James Auchinleck, (Afflek named in the *Lament for the Makars*) was one of the Secretaries of the Duke of Ross; so was James Gray the scribe of the well known Gray Ms. which preserves a poem of Henryson among other good things. Gray is now known to have been the scribe who wrote the Ms. of the Bodleian Library, Selden B. 24. *Athenaeum* Dec. 16. 1899.

of themselves, by the official name. In the case of John Hart, Chester Herald, we have an English parallel of the Christian name being combined with the official, on the title page of a published work.

(5) The payment of twenty unicorns (£ 18 sterling) made to Sir John the Ross by the Treasurer by command of the king in February 1490 may have been his remuneration for the 1488 and 1489 transcripts of The Wallace and The Bruce.[1]

(6) There being two knights banneret among the courtiers, Sir John Ramsay of Corston and Sir John Ramsay of Trarinyeane, one easily sees how, in order to distinguish them from Sir John of Kilgour[2] and Sir John the Ross, two of the Royal servants, the household Treasurer is so careful to differentiate the designations.

(7) The curiously minute references to the herald's office met with so frequently in *The Wallace* furnish a strong presumption against Blynd Harry being the composer; they are, however, strongly corroborative of John Ramsay's intimate knowledge of the duties of an officer at arms.[3]

I have endeavoured to the best of my ability to supply an adequate programme for the trial of the hypotheses advanced,

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[1] John Barbour received in 1376 or 1377 ten pounds by the king's command 'probably' says Professor Skeat 'for his poem of The Bruce'. For copying Mandeville Master John Blair, it will be remembered, also received his honorarium.

[2] Sir John Ramsay of Kilgour was a priest of Dunblane diocese. He seems to have had charge of the king's wardrobe and to have exercised supervision of household furnishings. He is always named simply as Sir John of Kilgour in the *L. H. T. Accounts*. We discover his name to be Ramsay through the pleadings in an action referred to in the *Acta Dom. voce Ramsay*.

[3] After quoting *The Wallace*, Warton remarks that many of the Romances that appeared in the 14th century were written by heralds. 'There are, he says, several proofs which indicate that many romances of the 14th century if not in verse, at least those written in prose, were the work of heralds.' One in verse, reciting the achievements of Edward the Black Prince, written by John Chandos Herald, is preserved in the library of Worcester College Oxford. The French poem *Les Noms et les Armes des Seigneurs a l'Assiege de Karleverch en Escoce* is also the work of a herald. Froissart who was a herald, a canon of two churches & chaplain to Guy Earl of Castellon, not only wrote ballads & virelays but also composed the chivalric romance *Meliador or the Knight of the Sun of Gold.* Vide Warton's *Hist. of Eng. Poetry* p. 218 et seq. (Ed. Murray & Son 1870).

but I am conscious nevertheless that in a field so wide, there must be many things I have failed to observe which, when found, will help to throw additional light on the questions discussed in the foregoing pages. My hope, however, is that students of Scottish vernacular literature will multiply my experiments and test my conclusions. Prudens interrogatio dimidium scientiae est.

Of the Bruce.

The supposititious *Brut* of John Barbour.

In the Introduction to the Scottish Text Society's edition of *The Bruce* (p. xxxvii) Professor Skeat tells us that from seven passages in Wyntoun's *Cronykil* 'we learn a new fact about Barbour — viz that he composed a poem, now lost, with the title of *The Brut*'. As I have ventured to question the 'new fact' it will be well to bring together the passages in the *Cronykil* that bear on the question, including among these the seven relied on in support of his conclusions.[1]

They are as follows: —

1. This Nynus had a sone alsua
   Sere Dardane, lord de Frygya
   Fra quhome Barbere sutely
   Has made a propyr genealogy
   Tyll Robert oure Secownd kyng,
   That Scotland had in governyng.

   Book II. ch. 1. 131.

2. Off Hiber thai come halyly
   Tha we oys to call Yrschery;
   And this lady callyd Scota
   All thir Scottis ar cummyn fra
   As yhe may in this proces here
   Quhen we ar cummyn to that matere.

   Chap. IX.

   On othir wiis this chapitere
   Sayis the Yrsche cummyn were.
   Bot be the Brwte yhit Barbare sayis
   Off Yryschry all othir-wayis,

[1] In citing Wyntoun I have followed the same text as Professor Skeat, viz. Dr. David Laing's edition (Vol. I. Scot. Historians).

That Gurgwunt Badruk quhile wes kyng
And Bretayne had in governyng;
Worthy, wycht and wyse wes he
Book II. ch. 8. & 9. ll. 767. 777.[1]

3. Off Bruttus lyneage quha wyll here,
He luke the Tretis off Barbere,
Mad in-tyll a Genealogy
Rycht wele, and mare perfytly
Than I can on ony wys
Wytht all my wyt to yowe dewys.
Book III. ch. 3. l. 621.

4. This Brennyus and Belyne
Bredyre ware, and knychtis syne:
Off thame quha will the certane haue
How that thai for Bretane straue
Ilkane wytht othir, and for it faucht;
And how thalre modyre made thaim saucht;
How thai wan Frauns and Lumbardy,
Tuskane and Rome nere halyly;
How Brennyus syne left in Tuskane,
And Belyne come hame in Bretane;
Thai rede the Brwte and thai sall se
Ferlys gret off thare bownte.
Book IV. ch. 9. 6. 1173.

5. How that empyrowr thare efft
That King hys lutenand lefft
Off all the landys, that marchyd than
Nore wyth the kynryk off Brettan,
Hame tyll Rome quhen that he
Agayne passyd wytht his reawte;
And how that kyng syne mad delay,
And hale denyit for to pay
Till Rome the trewage off Brettane,
Quhyll Claudyus send Waspasyane
Wytht that kyng to fecht or trete
Swa that for luwe, or than for threte,
Off fors he suld pay at he aucht;
And how the qweyne thare made thame saucht;
The Brute tellys it sa oppynly
That I wyll lat it now ga by.
Book V. ch. 3. l. 497.

[1] In this passage I quote the six concluding lines of Chapter VIII and the five opening lines of Ch. IX. The metrical title of Chap. VIII is as follows —

'This chapitere sall tell yhow all hale
Off the Scottis Orygynale.'

6. Octaveus in-to thai dayis,
As off the Brute the story sayis,
Off al Brettayne hale wes kyng,
And had that land in governyng.
He had a douchtyr yhong and fayre,
That off laucht than wes hys ayre;
Hys counsale mast part thowcht, that he
Suld ger that douchtyr maryd be
Wytht sum ryche man for hys ryches:
And Conane-Meryaduk that wes
Hys nevew, neyst suld be kyng.
Book V. ch. 10. l. 3153.

7. The Saxonys off Duche-land
Arrywyde that tyme in Ingland
Merlyne alsua mystyly
That tyme made hys Prophecy.
How Vortygerne wytht hys falshede
Off Brettane made the kyngis dede;
How Utere and Awrelius
Till surname cald Ambrosius,
Off Ingland passyt prewaly than
And efftyr bad in Less-Brettan;
And the Saxonys wyth thare slycht
In Yngland come, and ay thare mycht
Wes ekyd, that in multitude
Thare wes slayne downe the Brettis blud;
And Ingland thare-efftyre ay
Thai hawe yhit haddyn to this day,
The Brwte tellys opynly;
Thare for I lewe now that story.
Book V. ch. 12. l. 4229.

8. Quharefor the state off the empyre
Hely movyt in to gret ire
The hawtane message till him send,
That wryttyn in the Brwte is kend.
And Huchown off the Awle Ryale
In tyl hys Gest Historialle
Has tretyd this mar cwnnandly
Than suffycyand to pronowns am I.
Book V. ch. 12. l. 4289.

9. Quhen Kyng off Brettane was Arthoure
Bot off the Brwte the story sayis,
That Lucyus Hiberius in hys sayis,
Wes off the hey state Procurature,
Nowthir cald Kyng na Empryowre.
Book V. ch. 12. l. 4314.

10. The Stewartis Orygenalle
The Archedekyne has tretyd hale,
In metyre fayre, mare wertwsly
Than I can thynk be my study,
Be gud contynuatyown
In successyve generatyown.
Book VIII. ch. 8. l. 1445.

From these ten passages Professor Skeat affirms that Wyntoun attributes to Barbour *two* works — the one 'a poem which seems to have been called either the *Stewartis Original* or the *Stewartis Genealogy*' containing 'a regular pedigree of the family of the Stewarts in successive generation, beginning with Ninus the builder of Nineveh and ending with King Robert III of Scotland' the other 'a poem with the title of *The Brut*, which 'from the fulness of some of the allusions' we can 'see that its subject closely resembled that of the poem of the same name by Layamon'. It is clear, he goes on to say, that the *Stewartis Original* is quite separate from *The Brut* 'though founded on it'. We can easily tell what it was like for a great part of the said 'genealogy' is given in the *Chronicles of Scotland* by Hector Boece and in Bellenden's translation of it'. The *Stewartis Orygynalle*, it may be as well to mention, he obtains from the passages 1, 3 and 10: *The Brut* from the seven passages 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9.

No one who reads the *Cronykil* attentively will deny that *The Stewartis Orygynalle* and *The Brut* are cited by Wyntoun as distinct works. Neither is it in the least doubtful that *The Stewartis Orygynalle* is a work of Barbour: it is attributed to him in unequivocal language both in the *Cronykil* and in *The Wallace*. When, however, it is seriously maintained that Wyntoun ascribes to Barbour 'a poem with the title of *The Brut*' it becomes necessary to dissent.

Seizing on the lines, —

'Bot be the Brwte ȝhit Barbare sayis
Off Yryschry all othir wayis,'

Professor Skeat jumps to the conclusion that Barbour is there said by Wyntoun to be the author of *The Brut*; and finding in the Cronykil six other citations of the same work, the context in every case pointing to a well known source, the wider conclusion is reached, viz. that Barbour wrote a poem

founded on Layamon. No such conclusion appears to be warranted by anything in the *Cronykil* or any other work.

Let us examine briefly the *Cronykil* itself. When Wyntoun wrote, c. 1420, he was well acquainted with several distinct 'genealogies' of the Scottish kings that did not well accord with each other. Between them. he tells us, he found —

> 'sic discrepance
> That I am noucht off sufficane
> For to gare thame all acorde;
> Bot sympylly for to recorde
> Wytht-in the Eyldis that than felle,
> And name othir termys telle.'

And accordingly he does his best to distinguish between ethnic legends that personified the race in the eponymous Brutus who 'dyvydit Brettane' among his three sons, on the one hand, and the Irish Gathelus who with his Scots came 'owt of Irland', on the other.

In Book ii ch. I. 131 (No. 1 supra) where the first reference to Barbour is met with, Wyntoun having reached Ninus, an ancestor of Brutus, incidentally tells us that the Archdeacon had 'sutely' derived from that ancient monarch 'a propyr genealogy' for 'Robert owre Secownde kyng'.

To understand the next passage (No. 2 supra) it is necessary to examine the narrative between Chapters 1 and 8 of Book II. In the last mentioned chapter Wyntoun adjusts to the Brutus pedigree one of the versions of the Irish ethnic fable current among the Scots; and in the closing lines breaks off at Scota, daughter of Pharoah and spouse of Gathelus, promising, however, to return to the subject. But in Chapter 9 he diverges, mentioning incidentally in the opening line that Barbour, following the *Brut*, has in *The Stewartis Orygynalle* given an account of the Irish, different from what has just been set forth in the preceding chapter. He then proceeds to give the Geoffrey-Barbour version.

To read the two lines as an intimation that Barbour wrote *The Brut* is altogether inadmissible. Wyntoun in one instance, it will be remembered, in an early part of the pedigree, notices a 'discrepance' and points out how far it is 'discordand' with 'the Seventy wys Interpretowrys' — meaning, of course, the translators of the Septuagint. Supposing at that place he had said —

'Bot be the Bybill Barbour sayis
Off Abraham all othir wayis'

would we be justified in holding that Barbour had made a translation, now lost, of the Scriptures? No surely. Yet the one statement would have as much authority from the text as the other. The phrase 'be the Brwte' means simply 'by' = 'following *the Brut*', or 'according to' *The Brut*; and knowing as we do that Barbour derived the Stewart pedigree from a Southern stock, that is to say, from the eponymous Brutus through Banquo, whose son Fleance was the father of Walter, Steward of Scotland, one is not surprised that he followed the English chronicle concerning the settlement of the Irish, rather than any of the conflicting Scottish authorities.

The generic nature of the title *Brut* might have rendered it difficult or even impossible for any one in the present day to identify the particular book cited in the *Cronykil*, but fortunately Wyntoun himself furnishes a certain clue that enables us to exclude the works both of Wace and Layamon, and to recognise the *Historia Britonum* of Geoffrey of Monmouth as his authority. In speaking of 'the hawtane message' sent by King Arthur to Rome, he goes out of his way to defend Huchown of the Awle Ryale, for having styled Lucius *Emperor* instead of *Procurator* notwithstanding that

'Off the Brute the story sayis
That Lucius Hiberius in hys dayis
Wes of the hey state Procurator.'

That citation demonstrates Geoffrey of Monmouth's work — the corresponding passage of which is *Lucius Reipublicae Procurator Arturo regi Britanniae quod meruit* — for in both Wace and Layamon, Lucius is styled Emperor and never Procurator. It is manifest therefore that whenever Wyntoun mentions *The Brut* he must be held as referring to the well known Latin original and not to the versions of Wace or Layamon or to a vernacular translation by Barbour.[1]

John Ramsay's hand in *The Bruce*.

Do the Cambridge and Edinburgh manuscripts of *The Bruce* preserve the work of John Barbour in its original form,

[1] One has only to compare the passages in Wyntoun with the *Historia Britonum*, *Li Romans de Brut* of Wace, or Laȝamon's *Brut*, to

due allowance being made for fifteenth century orthography of the scribe: or do they exhibit the fourteenth century poem in a form more or less recast, amplified and embellished by an editor in the succeeding century? That question without doubt is of far more importance than anything concerning Barbour's authorship of *The Stewartis Orygynalle*, the *Troy Book*, *Legends of the Saints* or *The Brut*.

Some years ago, after repeated perusal of *The Bruce*, I began to suspect that another and later hand than Barbour's is discernible at more than one place of the poem. The language, when compared with and tested by dated fourteenth century documents, seemed to suggest contamination after 1375. So too, certain things in the narrative indicated redaction involving a series of changes running through the structure of the work. I purposely avoid a discussion of the diction, preferring rather to leave it to experienced philologists; but as regards certain superficial evidences of disturbance of the original text I would point to the thrice told story of the Brooch of Lorn:[1] to the fact that Edward I is spoken of in Book VIII as still alive although the account of his death is particularly related in Book IV.[2] It is also odd, as Professor Skeat remarks, to find in Book VIII Sir Simon Fraser mentioned as alive in 1307, considering that 'he was put to death the year before; and it is still more odd that he should be mentioned yet again in Book IX'.[3] Such palpable inconsistencies are not to be classed merely among Barbour's historical errors: they are direct violations of the ordinary canons of romance and for that reason it is difficult to believe them to be attributable to carelessness on the part of Barbour himself. There is also the passage in Book XIII, 704 where Barbour accurately dates his work as 1375, a kind of colophon seemingly out of place, that appears 'to have been added at some later time'. 'We should have expected', says the learned editor, 'to find it at the end of the poem. Else we must

see that Geoffrey of Monmouth is the one followed by the Scottish Chronicle. The passage number 6 would by itself be conclusive of Wyntoun's source.

[1] Professor Skeat notices the fact: *vide* his note on line 146 of B. iii.

[2] Vide Professor Skeats note on l. 361 of B. viii.

[3] Vide notes l. 239 B. II: and l. 397 B. IX.

suppose that Barbour merely made a note of the date *en passant* and completed the poem afterwards'.[1]

It was not, however, until after realising the very intimate relation between *The Wallace* and *The Bruce* and carefully examining the manuscripts of Ramsay as well as the long quotation from Barbour's poem incorporated in Wyntoun's *Cronykil* that a reliable criterion for testing The Bruce was obtained. Observing the uniform nature of the emendations in the different manuscripts, and noting the variations between the *Cronykil* and the Edinburgh manuscript in the long parallel passage, it occured to me to begin by scrutinising more particularly some of the lines in *The Bruce* that are assumed by the editors of that poem to have been omitted by Wyntoun of set purpose, and, as the scope of the investigation widened, the evidence which I am about to adduce gradually unfolded itself.

The passages to be subjected to fair and ordinary tests are the following: —

1. The allusion in Book I to the Trojan War, Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar and King Arthur.
2. The Account of Gaudifer of Laryss in the Alexander Romance.
3. The reference to the Romance of Ferumbrace in Book III.
4. The Tydeus episode in Book VI.
5. The Hannibal Example in relation to Wyntoun's Cronykil.
6. The interpolated passage relating to the Heart of King Robert the Bruce; the relation of *The Bruce* to Froissart's *Chronicles*, and a few minor points.

By means of these selected examples I hope to be able to shew that my hypothesis of fifteenth century redaction has a basis in demonstrable fact.

(I.) The Trojan War, Alexander, Caesar, and Arthur passage, extends from lines 515 to 560 of Book I. Its literary setting deserves special attention. Barbour has been telling of the conference between Bruce and the false Comyn.

'As thai come ridand fra Strevillyn'

and it will be remembered it is just at that place where, as Professor Skeat remarks, we meet with 'the most extraordinary

[1] It evidences in my opinion, disturbance of the authentic text to find it where it is.

of the author's errors' — that by which Barbour 'confuses Robert Bruce the grandfather with Robert Bruce the grandson'. That error, in the opinion of the learned editor 'is enough to render us cautious as to believing any of his statements without additional evidence'. A more recent writer, Sir Herbert Maxwell, referring to the same error comments thus strongly on it. 'Unhappily', he says, 'Barbour's poem which is of the deepest interest to the philologer as the very earliest extant specimen of Scottish vernacular literature,[1] has been almost irretrievably discredited as a chronicle by a monstrous liberty which the author takes in rolling three real personages into one ideal hero. In this way he has treated father, son and grandson — all of whom bore the name of Robert de Brus — and gravely presented them as one and the same individual. Barbour was at work on his poem, as he himself informs us in 1375, forty six years after the death of Robert I, and it is impossible to doubt that he deliberately and consciously perpetrated the fabrication whereby he made Robert de Brus the 'competitor' the same as his grandson Robert de Brus, Earl of Carrick, crowned King of Scots in 1306, and threw into the same personality the intermediate Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale, who was King Edward's Governor of Carlisle during John Bailliol's brief war. Such a glaring figment placed in the forefront of an historical work might render, and in the eyes of some people, has rendered, all that follows it, of no historical importance. This great national epic has been denounced as of no more value to history than the romances of Walter Scott[2] or Alexander Dumas. As the late Cosmo Innes observed in editing *The Brus* for the Spalding Club in 1859, —

> 'It suited Barbour's purpose to place Bruce altogether right, Edward outrageously wrong in the first discussion of the disputed succession. It suited his views of poetical

[1] It is a mistake to speak of Barbour as the earliest author· Huchown's poems are earlier specimens of the vernacular and far more meritorious as literary productions.

[2] A just criticism in my opinion. The poem is, in Plato's memorable phrase, '*a noble untruth*'; that is, untrue to the immediate appearances of things, in order that it may suggest the deeper reality underlying them: in no true sense is it an historical document.

justice that Bruce, who had been so unjustly dealt with, should be the Bruce, who took vengeance for that injustice at Bannockburn though the former was the grandfather, the other the grandson. His hero is not to be degraded by announcing that he had once sworn fealty to Edward and once done homage to Balliol, or ever joined any party but that of his country and freedom.'

'It must be confessed that at first sight little of value could be looked for from such a dubious source. But closer examination reveals that the cardinal falsehood is all disposed of in the first few cantos. The first ten of these may be rejected as irrelevant to any honest purpose.'[1]

Poor Barbour might perhaps have preferred to burn his Book could he have foreseen how harshly the historical and literary critics of a later time were, by means of it, to impugn his 'suthfastness' as a chronicler. But it is surely due to his memory, even at this distant day, to defend him from undeserved strictures, and all the more so that it is in the interest of history to render the needed service.

Now both in *The Bruce* and in the long parallel passage of the *Cronykil* there is a mistake in designating the grandfather as Earl of Carrick, that title having been first borne by the son; but notwithstanding that slip, Wyntoun carefully distinguishes, as Professor Skeat remarks, 'between the three generations'.[2] But by the single line in *The Bruce* —

'Thys lord the Brwyss, I spak of ayr,'

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[1] Maxwell p. 6. The precise historical value of *The Bruce* will certainly never be ascertained by such eclectic method.

[2] The Erle Dawy off Huntyngtown
A lord commendyt off renown
Ane othir douchter had, I herd tell
That cald be name wes Ysabelle.
Robert the Brus in till hys lyff
Tuk that lady till hys wyff
That Robert the Brus efftyr that
On hyr a sone cald Robert gat
The Brus: and he efftyrwart
Gat a sone, wes cald Robert
The Brus, the quhilk in till his dayis
Weddyt off Carryk The Countays:
Swa wes he Erle and Lord all hale
Off Carryk and off Annandyrdale;

the whole confusion is occasioned; for the Bruce of whom the poet 'is going to speak is the hero of his poem; but the Bruce of whom he has already spoken (67. 153) is that hero's grandfather' who died in 1294. It is most noticeable, however, that the line in question is one of the variants between the poem and the *Cronykil*, and by preferring Wyntoun's text to the manuscripts the 'glaring figment' at once disappears.

The Cronykill.	*The Bruce.*
Quhen all this sawe the Brwss Robert	This lord the Brwyss I spak of ayr
That bare the crowne swne eftirwart	Saw all the kynryk swa forfayr
Gret pytte off the folk he had	And swa trowblyt the folk saw he
Set few wordis tharoff he mad.	That he tharoff had gret pitte.

It is surely permissible to correct the error by the aid of the *Cronykil* seeing that it is admittedly in other respects the better text; indeed Professor Skeat actually does so in another place where both the Cambridge and Edinburgh Mss. miss a whole line which is required to complete a couplet.[1]

Besides, when we find in *The Bruce* constant inversion of the Christian name and surname, merely for the sake of the rime, is it not reasonable to suppose that Wyntoun's reading — 'The Brwss Robert' — is the original? 'Vallanch schir Amery', 'Brechine schir Davy', 'the erle of Adell, Davy', 'the erle of Carrick, schir Edward' 'Calȝeoun schir Edward', 'the Erle of Murref Thomas', 'Keth gud schir Vilȝame' are only a few instances of similar inversion. And other cogent reasons have been advanced by Mr. T. F. Henderson in support of the view I am contending for. After pointing out that Wyntoun's non acceptance 'of the accidental or intended fiction' shews that there can have been no general desire on the part of the Scots to bolster up either the national cause or that of Bruce by such a stupid artifice, he adds with point, that 'Barbour had no need to have recourse to it, for his theme did not include the years in Bruce's life when, perhaps, his patriotism was stifled by his rivalry with Baliol; and to have introduced him simply as the grandson of him he "spak of

The Erle off Carryk, Schyr Robert
Gat on that lady efftyrwart
Robert the Brus, that wes oure kyng
That Scotland tuk in governyng. &c.
Wyntown B. VIII ch. 7.

[1] B. I. l. 187.

ayr" would equally well have suited his purpose. And lastly, — and this seems conclusive — if Barbour did wilfully falsify facts, how could he have set himself to expose his own falsification by compiling the genealogy of the Stewarts, ending with Robert II of Scotland'!

The mere suspicion of contamination of the manuscripts in an all important line should at any rate lead us to examine with greater vigilance all other lines that awaken doubts concerning their authenticity.

The Trojan War allusion is as follows: —

'Bot off all thing, wa worth tresoun!
For thar is nothir duk ne baroun
Na erle, na prynce, na kyng off mycht,
Thocht he be neuir sa wyss na wycht
For wyt, worschip, price, na renoun,
That euir may wauch him with tresoune!
Wes nocht all Troy with tresoune tane
Quhen ten ȝeris of the wer wes gane?
Then slayn wes moné thowsand
Ofi thaim with-owt, throw strenth of hand
As Dares in his buk he wrate,
And Dytis that knew all thar state
Thai mycht nocht haiff beyn tane throw mycht
Bot tresoune tuk thaim throw hyr slycht.

These lines, it appears to me, if they stood alone, would furnish no argument against Barbour's authorship. I regard Barbour as the author of the fragment of The *Troy Book* preserved in the Cambridge Mss.[1] and consequently no one would be more likely than he to draw upon Guido's *Trojanum Bellum* for whatever he required to lend colour to his narrative. If anything can be urged against their authenticity it must be on account of their intimate connection with the Alexander, Caesar, and Arthur allusions. But some one may say, anticipating any objection whatever, that the entire passage relates nothing about Troy, Alexander, Caesar, or Arthur but what was commonplace in the 14th century — nothing that Barbour is not to be presumed to have known as a scholar poet. Up to a point, such a general objection would be fair enough. For undoubtedly we must assume his knowledge both of history

[1] And also of some Legends of Saints, *St. Machar* among others. Vide *Scottish Antiquary* January 1897 and *The Athenaeum* Feb. 27 1897, No. 3618.

and romance to have been at least equal to that of other poets, his contemporaries. But granting all that, there yet remains a question wholly unaffected by such considerations; a question that relates to the sources used by the composer of these particular lines. For example, if it can be shewn that the *Alexander, Caesar*, and *Arthur* lines are derived partly from the *Monk's Tale* and partly from the alliterative poem *Morte Arthure* then there need be no hesitation whatever in affirming that they cannot have been written by Barbour. And that I submit is what an examination discovers.

Let us take the *Alexander* and *Caesar* allusion examining it with the *Monk's Tale* in which the same heroes are also brought together.

The Bruce. B. I. l. 529.	*The Monk's Tale.*
And Alexander the Conqueroure,	(1) The storie of Alisaundre, * * *
That conqueryt Babilonys tour,	This wyde world, as in conclusion
And all this warld of lenth and breid	He wan by strengthe * * *
In twelf yher, throw his douchty deid,	(5) Twelf yher he regned as seith Machabee[1]
	* * * *
	O worthy gentil Alisaundre, allas!
	* * * *
Was syne destroyit throw pusone	Empoysoned of thyne owne folk thou were
In his awyne howss throu gret tresoune.	
Bot or he deit his land delt he;	* * * *
To se his dede wes gret pité	(5) Who shall me yeven teres to compleyne
	* * * *
	Allas who shal me helpe to endyte
	Falsé fortune and poison to despyse
	* * * *
Julius Caesar als that wan	(1) Up roos he, Julius the Conqueror
Bretane and Fraunce, as douchty man	
Affryk, Arrabé, Egipt, Surry,[2]	
And all Europe halyly	That wan al thoccident by land and see

[1] There is an allusion to the Maccabees a few lines earlier in *The Bruce.* Vide note infra. I number the stanzas in the Alexander & Caesar passages as in Chaucer's *Monk's Tale.*

[2] In the *Monk's Tale* Caesar is said also to have conquered the Orient as well as the Occident. *The Bruce* passage is simply an expansion of the Chaucerian phrases.

And for his worschip and valour Off Rôme wes fyrst maid emperour	By strengthe of hand, * * * And sithe of Rome the Emperour was he. * * * *
Syne in hys Capitol wes he Throw thaim of his consaill privé	(5) This Julius to the Capitolie went Upon a day * * * * (4) But on a tyme Brutus and Cassius * * * * Ful prively had made conspiracye
Slayne vith punsoune rycht to the dede	(5) and stikende him with boydekins anoon
And quhen he saw thar wes na rede His eyn with his hand closit he For to dey with mar honesté.	(6) And as he lay of diyng in a traunce And wiste verraily that ded was he.[1] Of honestee yit hadde he remembraunce.

In *The Bruce* we have only twenty lines to compare with ninety six in Chaucer, consequently we must expect the former to be very much a summary, exhibiting more or less skilfulness in assimilation and combination on the part of the borrower. It is to be carefully noted at the outset, how the Scottish poet exactly follows the sequence of the Chaucerian narrative. It is worthy of remark too that while Chaucer mentions the Book of Maccabees in his story of *Alexander*, the Scottish poet, immediately before commencing his disquisition on the heinousness of treason, makes passing reference to the Maccabees, who —

'as men in the bibill says
Throw thair gret worship and valour
Fawcht into mony stalwart stour'[2]

and the reader who turns to the *Monk's Tale* will note the mention of the

'Kinges princes erles and dukes bolde'

said to have been conquered by Alexander, and the very similar enumeration in *The Bruce* in the opening lines under examination —

'wa worth tresoun,
For ther is nothir duk ne baroun
Na erle na prynce, na king off mycht.'

The Julius Caesar passage is not less remarkable for significant agreement, as regards the sequence of the narrative, with the

[1] The slight alteration by the Scottish poet is a distinct improvement on Chaucer.

[2] Vide note supra.

Monk's Tale. So far as concerns the diction it approaches even nearer the Chaucerian original. The conquests in the Orient and Occident; the elevation of Julius as Emperor; his death in 'the Capitol' compassed, according to Chaucer, by 'friends ful previly', in *The Bruce* by 'thaim of his consaille privé'; the slaying with 'bodekins' or 'punsounes'; and the dying in 'honestee', are not to be explained either as commonplaces or as mere coincidences.

Turn we now to the Arthur lines —

'Als Arthur that throw chevalry
Maid Bretane maistres and lady
Off twelf kinrykis that he wan;
And alsua as a noble man
He wan throw bataill Fraunce all fre,
And Lucius Yber vencusyt he
That then of Rome was emperour.
Bot ȝeit, for all his gret valour
Modreyt his syster-son him slew,
And gud men als, ma then inew,
Throw tresoune and throw wikketnes,
The Broite beris tharoff wytnes.'

In that epitome of Arthurian story it may be that at first sight one will not observe much that is calculated to awaken suspicion. All the same there is something. It is an excellent summary of the *Morte Arthure.* In Huchown's poem we read of 'kyngrykes' won by Arthur 'thorowe craftys of armes', and of 'Lucius the Emperour' of Rome. No doubt if Barbour knew *The Brut* of Wace or Layamon he would find Lucius there styled *Emperor.*[1] But ought we to assume him to have been acquainted with the French or English version? I think not. There is not in the whole range of Scottish literature the slightest trace of influence of either of these authors: but it is quite otherwise with Geoffrey of Monmouth. The *Stewartis Orygynale* itself was largely derived from the Latin original. But the fact that Wyntoun — anticipating critics who might 'perchance argwe his cunnandnes' because he styled Lucius *Emperor* — was careful to justify his own use by citing the poet Huchown as a precedent, goes very far indeed to prove that in the year 1420 the *Arthur* passage was no part of the authentic text of *The Bruce.* No other author knew Barbour's

[1] Wace Vol. 2. p. 116.

poem better or used it so extensively as Wyntoun. Yet he altogether ignores the fact that Barbour as well as Huchown had extended the imperial style to Lucius Tiberius. Surely *The Bruce* would have supplied, if not a weightier, at least as weighty, a precedent as the *Morte Arthure* of Huchown. One remembers how studiously Wyntoun lets it be known that he himself is well acquainted with the work of Geoffrey, and the ingenious plea advanced for Huchown —

> 'Had he cald Lucius Procurature
> Quhare that he cald hym Empyroure,
> That had mare grevyd the cadens
> Than had relyvyd the sentens.
> Ane empyroure in propyrté
> A comawndoure suld callyd be
> Lucius *swylk* mycht have bene kend
> Be the message that he send.
> Here suffysyand excusatyownys
> For wylful defamatyownys.
> He man be war in mony thyng
> That will hym kepe fre mysdemyng.'

The contiguity of the Troy and Arthur lines with the suspect *Alexander* and *Caesar* allusions must also be taken into account. When appropriating part of the embroidery from Chaucer it appears to me that Ramsay borrowed from his two favourite poems the *Gest Historiale* and *Morte Arthure*. In a cumulative argument, at any rate, the whole passage must be brought into account and passed under review.

The Alexander Romance: Gaudifer de Laryss.

In Books III and X there is a reference to the Romance of *Alexander the Great* that treats of the *Forray of Gadderis*. The story is found in the *Buik of Alexander the Great*, published by the Bannatyne Club in 1831. Professor Skeat was aware that the Romance was translated into Scottish in 1438, consequently to his note on Book III l. 73 he added 'that Barbour must have seen it in an earlier form. Barbour had probably seen a copy of *Li Romans d'Alexandre* by Lambert de Tors and Alexander de Bernay which was written in the 13th century'. That John Barbour cannot have seen the Scottish version is beyond dispute, for the colophon of the



translator, who, I believe, was David Rate, Confessor of James I of Scotland,[1] is accurately dated. It tells us that the work was translated from the French in 1438 —

> 'Before the tyme that God was borne
> To save our saulls that was forlorne
> Sensyne is past ane thousand ȝeir
> Four hundred and threttie thair to neir
> And aucht and sumdele mare, I vis.'[2]

The question, therefore, is whether the passage of *The Bruce* is derived directly from the French Romance or from the Scottish translation of 1438; John Ramsay, it will be admitted, might very well have known the vernacular version.

Let us look first at the persons named in *The Bruce.* These are, in Book III, Gaudifer de Laryss, Betyss, Alysaundir, Tholimar, Coneus, Danklyne and in Book X Arestee. Now, in the Scottish translation of 1438, the names are the same, — with the slightest difference in spelling, viz. Gaudifeir de Laryss, Betys, Alisandir, Tholomere, Coneus, Danklyne, Arrestee. In the French original, however, Tholomere is called *Tholomes*;[3] Coneus, *Corineus*; Danklyne, *Dans Clins*; Betyss, *Betis*; Arestee, *Ariste son dru.* It is surely not to be readily believed that two Scotsmen translating independently would assimilate French proper names alike, and the agreement between the 1438 version and *The Bruce* is therefore most significant. We should notice also that the famous grey palfrey of Lord James Douglas is called *Ferrand*, which is also the name of the equally famous steed of King Alexander's doughty companion Eumenydus.

But when we go a little farther afield the evidence becomes positive. For example, we find these lines about Spring

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[1] Vide note supra. Every test points to Rate as the Author of the 1438 translation.

[2] This minutely dated colophon is very interesting and should be carefully compared with Lydgate's *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man,* edited by Dr. Furnival for the E. E. T. Society; Part I, *Prologue* —

> 'And of the tyme playnly and of the date
> When I began thys book to translate
> Yt was a thousand (by computacione)
> Four hundred ouer, nouther fer ne nere
> The surplus ouer, syx and twenty yere.'

[3] Once it occurs as Tholomer in Michelant's Edition.

at the beginning of Book V. where strangely enough the subject matter of the book itself relates to things that happened in September 1306.[1]

The Bruce. Book V.

This wes in Vere quhen wyntir tyde
With his blastis hydwiss to byde,
Wes ourdriffin: and birdis smale,
As thristill and the nychtingale
Begonth rycht meraly to syng 5
And for to mak in thair synging
Syndry notis and soundis sere,
And melody plesande to here.
And the treis begonth to ma
Burgeonys and brycht blumys alsua, 10
To wyn the heling of thar hevede
That wikkit wytir had thame revede;
And all grevis begonth to spryng.

And in Book XVI. l. 63 this very similar passage —

This wes in the moneth of May
Quhen byrdis syngis on the spray,
Melland thar notys with syndry sowne
For softnes of that sweit sesoune:
And levis on the branchis spredis,
And blomys bricht besyd thame bredis,
And feldis florist ar with flowris,
Weill savourit of seir colouris;
And all thing worthis blith and gay
Quhen that this gud king tuk his way.'

Compare these passages with the following from the 1438 version of the *Alexander*.[2]

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[1] It seems peculiarly inappropriate that Barbour should insert this account of Spring just when it was getting dark ('a littil forrow the evyn'): vide essay on *Barbour & Blind Harry as Literature* by Mr. W. A. Craigie, in the *Scottish Review* Vol. xxii. July 1893.

[2] The *Alexander* lines, without doubt, were in the first instance derived by David Rate from the *Gest Historiale* (cp. 1056 : 2734 : 12969). Ramsay who knew the *Gest Historiale* well, copied both from it and the *Alexander* when editing the *Bruce*, the *Alexander* being more particularly the model. Again, in the *Wallace* (B. viii 1183 and B. IX 3) he imitated the identical passages of the *Gest Historiale*; and it is not a little remarkable that in the *Alexander, Bruce,* and *Wallace* there are *two* descriptions of Spring. Their relationship is certainly phenomenal and demands examination.

page 107. In mery May quhen medis springis,
And foulis in the forestis singis,
And nychtingalis thair notis neuis,
And flouris spredis on seirkin hewes.
* * * * * * *
As kynd thame colouris gevis divers
And burgeons of thare brancheis bredis
And woddis winnis thare winfull wedis.'

page 248. This was in middes the moneth of May
Quhen wyntir wedes ar away
And foulis singis of soundis seir
And makes thame mirth on thare manere,
And graues that gay war, waxis grene,
As nature throu his craftis kene
Schroudis thame self with thare floures,
Wele savorand of sere colouris'

and also at page 159

'That strouit war with sindry floures
Wele savorand of sere solouris.'

Again in Book V. l. 580 of *The Bruce* we are told of the Carrick ruffian who plotted with his two sons to waylay the king. Bruce had been warned of the treason and on seeing the three armed men approach, turned to the young 'chalmir page' who accompanied him and asked —

'Quhat wappyn has thou? 'A! schir perfay,
'I haf a bow, bot and a wyre.' 595
'Gif me thame smertly baith'. 'A! syre,
How-gat will ȝhe than that I do?'
* * *

The king then

'tit the bow out of his hand 603
For the tratouris wes neir cumand
* * *
He tasit the vyre and leit it fle,
And hit the fader in the e,
Till it rycht in the harnys ran.' 625

Is it merely a coincidence that at page 250 of *The Alexander* we read of Porrus, in the Garden of Venus, getting similar help from his page? —

'Ane chyld besyde him went
With ane stane-bow in hand all bent.'

Porrus addresses him —

'Len me that bow', — 'I grant', said he;
He tuke the bow and taistit sone.[1]
And thairin hes ane pellok done'

which

'he hit richt on the hede,
Quhill on the stane the harnis glede,
And out of the hede the ene out brast.'

We are left in no doubt about *The Alexander* being one of the sources used in this particular episode of The Bruce for we find couplets borrowed almost verbatim, —

'Till he him umbethocht at the last And in his hert can umbecast.'	'Quhill he umbethocht him at the last And in his hert cleirly can cast.'
B. V. 551.	A. p. 193. l. 29.

and,

'He ruschit doune of blude all rede And quhen the king saw thai war ded.	'He rushit doun of blude all rede; Quhen Porrus sawe that he was dede.
B. V. 645.	A. p. 413. 13.

But we are only as it were on the threshold as yet. For, when the two poems are carefully examined, it is as clear as daylight that the Scottish translation of 1438 has been used extensively throughout *The Bruce* as a direct source. Some scores of passages might easily be cited shewing cunning selection, pruning and combination, precisely similar to what one finds on comparing *The Wallace* with *The Gest Historiale* & *Morte Arthure*; but these need not be noticed at present for we can have indisputable evidence. As I remarked in an earlier chapter the alliterative metre of the *Gest Historiale* & *Morte Arthure* rendered it impossible for Ramsay when composing *The Wallace* to appropriate lines *verbatim*; but the case was different when he chose *The Alexander* as one of his models in editing Barbour's poem. The metre of both poems was identical and he manifestly did not scruple to take freely whatever seemed to suit his purpose. Here is the evidence —

[1] The word *tasit* employed in The Bruce passage should be noticed. Professor Skeat glosses it 'put ready for shooting' adding that the expression *tasit the vyre* is literally, drew back (or bent) the bolt of the cross bow, which is a contradiction. It means that he bent back not the *bolt* but the *bow*.' The thing to be noticed however is that the text as it stands appears to be at fault: and it would at once be corrected by substituting the word in the Scottish *Alexander*, *taistit*, '*tested*' or *tried* the bolt. I am aware of the use of the word *tasit* by other Scottish poets, and only point out that it does not accord with the context of this particular passage of *The Bruce*.

The Alexander.	*The Bruce.*
p. 176 l. 5. Bot he was nocht sa fare suthly, That men bird spek of him gretly, For he wes broun rede in visage.	B. I l. 380. Bot he was nocht sa fayr that we Suld spek gretly of his beaute: In wysage wes he sumdeill gray . . . .
p. 22, 4. With lymmis square and manly maid And armys lang and schoulderis braid.	Bot of lymmys he wes weill maid With banys gret and schuldris braid.
p. 46 l. 23. How he Erll Sabolour hes slane And uthir als of mekill mane.	B. II l. 37. Schyr Edmund cumyn als wes slayn And othir alas of mekill mayn.
p. 21 l. 16. Quha for his lord deis, he sall be Harbreid with Angellis gle.	B. II l. 340. That he that deis for his countre Sall herbryt intill hewyn be.
p.3 82 l. 18. The grene gras vox of blude all rede, And covered with wondit men and dede.	B. II l. 360. Sum woundyt and sum all deid The gres woux off the blude all rede.
p. 362 l. 26. . . . . into thair first cumming War laid at eard but recovering.	B. III l. 16. . . . . at thar fyrst metyng War layd at erd but recoveryng
p. 88 l. 20. For to defend all the flearis And for to stony the chassaris.	B. III l. 81. For to reskew all the fleieris And for to stonay the chasseris.
p. 46 l. 7. With spurris he straik him sturdely, And he lansit deliverly.	B. III l. 121. And strak with spuris the stede in hy, And he lansyt furth delyverly.
p. 79 l. 25. With spurris he brocht him in hy, And he lansit deliverly.	
p. 190 l. 13. For gif I leif in leige pouste,[1] Thow sall of him weill vengit be.	B. V l. 165. Bot and I lif in lege pouste, Thair ded sall rycht weill vengit be.
p. 40 l. 1. And towart him raid in full great hy And smot the first sa sturdely.	B. VI l. 135. And raid till him in full gret hy. He smat the first sa rygorusly . . . Till he doun to the erd him bare.
p. 4 l. 24. Ferrand he straik with spurris in hy And straik the first sa rigorusly, That throw the bodie he him bair.	
p. 38 l. 3. That he met first sa sturdely, That deid doun to the erd him bare.	

[1] This legal phrase is found in the Rate poems and also in the *Wallace*.

p. 380 l. 1.
Had he nocht all the better bene
He had bene deid forouttin wene.

B. VI l. 162.
Had he nocht the bettir beyn,
He had beyn ded forouten veyn.

p. 20 l. 26.
Thocht thay be ma nor we, forthy
Seik we the first as sturdely,
That the hindmaist abasit he.

B. VIII l. 243.
For gif the formast egirly
Be met zhe shall se suddenly
The henmast sall abasit be,
And thouch that thai be ma than we.

p. 2 l. 25.
Now rydis the furreouris thair way,
Richt stoutly and in gude array.

B. VIII l. 271.
Now gais the nobill kyng his way
Richt stoutly and in gude aray.

p. 97 l. 11.
For ane worthiar knicht na he,
I trow, thair may nane fundin be.

B. IX l. 662 ff.
I trow that worthyar than he
Micht nocht in his tyme fundyn be

p. 49 l. 2.
Outtane the king allanerly
And his gude eme, quhome to that I
Dar compare nane.

Outakyn his brothir anerly,
To quhom into gude chevelry.
I dar peir nane ....

p. 389 l. 25.
Thare micht men se into that place
Mony ane worthy man and wicht.

B. XI l. 126
Men mycht se than that had beyn by,
Mony ane vorthy man and vycht.

p. 354 l. 29, p. 372 l. 10.
.... wilfull to fulfill
His avow with gude hert and will.

B. XI l. 266.
.... wilfull to fulfill
His liking with gude hert and will.

p. 76 l. 13.
The gude duke callit his men previe
And said: Lordingis now may ze sie.

B. XI l. 270.
And callit all his consell preve
And said thame; lordingis, now ze se.

p. 26 l. 26 ff.
He sawe sa feill broundin baneris,
And pennonis upon seir maneris ...
The greatest host and the stoutest
Of ony cuntry and the best
Suld of that sicht abasit be.

B. XI l. 464 ff.
Thai saw so fele browdin baneris,
Standartis, pennownis apon speris ...
That the mast host and the stoutest
Of crystyndome and ek the best
Suld be abasit for till se.

p. 8 l. 17.
He saw the battelis approchand
With baneris to the wynd waiffand.

B. XI l. 312, and B. IX l. 244.
Com with thair battalis approchand,
The Banerys to the vynd vaffand.

p. 281 l. 10.
And gif we foly agane foly
And sagait mak ane iepardy.

B. XII p. 261.
To set stoutnes agane felony
And mak swagat ane Juperdy.

p. 340 l. 25.
To morne, gif God will, we sall fecht,
Now help us God for his mekill mycht.

B. XII l. 323.
Now makis zow reddy till the ficht[1]
God help us, that is mast of mycht.

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[1] The rimes *fycht*, *mycht*, *slycht*, *knycht* are as common as blackberries in the *Alexander*, *Bruce*, and *Wallace* as well as in the Rate poems of the Ashmole Ms. 61.

p. 351 l. 12.	B. XII l. 333, and B. XIX l. 403.
Thus armit all the nicht thay lay Quhill on the morne that it wes day.	And swagat all the nycht baid thai, Till on the morn that it wes day.
p. 227 l. 5.	B. XII l. 523.
Mony helm hewin and mony knicht Throw force was fellit in the fecht.	That mony worthy man and wicht Throw fors wes fellit in that ficht.
p. 80 l. 18.	B. XIII l. 14.
Bot with wapons stalwart of steill Thay dang on uther with all thair micht.	For with wapnys stalwart of steill Thai dang on thame with all thar mycht.
p. 366 l. 4.	B. XIII l. 28, and B. XIII l. 153.
Stert Clarus up that herd the dintis Of wapnis that on helmis styntis.	Thar mycht men her richt mony dynt And vapnys apon armour stynt.
p. 42 l. 15.	B. XIII l. 44.
. . . I tak on hand, Thay have of him sic ane menyng Thai sall neid, I wis, of leching.	. . . I undirta, Thai left eftir thame taknyng, That sall neid, as I trow, lechyng.
p. 362 l. 20.	B. XIII l. 97.
Under thair scheildis thay war naked . . . Thay sall nouther hardement have nor micht Aganis armit men to ficht.	And agane armyt men to ficht May nakit men haff litill might.
p. 236 l. 24.	B. XIII l. 35.
And hard the dinging of thare dyntis, That kest fyre as man dois flyntis.	Men herd nocht ellis bot granis aod dyntis That slew fire as men dois flyntis.
p. 45 l. 32.	B. XIII l. 63.
Quhan he the rinkis saw shudder swa And the battellis togidder ga.	Quhen that he saw the battalis swa Assemmyll and togidder ga.
p. 283 l. 20.	B. XIV l. 504.
Than ferleid all that ever thar was, How ony man on ony wyse Durst undertak sa hie ane pryse.	And of the sicht had gret ferly That sa quhein durst on ony wis Undertak sa hye empris.
p. 54 l. 19.	B. XV l. 146.
Bot thay war all to few to ficht Agane sa fele, bot nocht for thy . .	Thay war to few all out, perfay. With sic a gret rout for to ficht, Bot nocht for thy . . . .
p. 8 l. 19.	B. XVIII l. 61.
And saw few with him for to fecht Aganis men sa mekill of micht.	That thair kyng with sa quheyn vald ficht Agane folk of sa mekill mycht.
p. 19 l. 18.	B. XIX l. 65.
. . . the king That we hald of all our halding.	. . . the king That he held of all his halding.
p. 118 l. 14, and p. 338 l. 19.	B. XIX l. 715, B. IV l. 157, B. IX l. 207, B. X l. 466
The hoste thame restit all the nicht Quhil on the morne that day was licht.	And maid thame gud cher all that nycht Quhill on the morne that day wes lycht.

We notice also the following identical lines in both poems, vizt: —

Richt as the day begouth to spring.	B. VI 319; A. 3, 16.
Bot on the morne in the mornyng.	B. XIV 165; A. 3, 15.
Till on the morn quhen it wes day.	B. XII 334; A. 317, 15; B. XIX 404, 503, 752.
And on the morn quhen day wes lycht.	B. XIII 514; A. 338, 20; B. XIV 172; A. 118, 15; B. IV 165.
The sone wes rysyn schynand (and schynit) bricht.	B. VIII 216; B. IV 166; A. 219, 4.
That speris all to fruschit war (thair).	B. II 350; A. 826, 12.
And routis ruyd about thaym (him) dang.	B. II 356; A. 407, 28.
Raucht him sic rout in randoun richt.	B. V 632; A. 400, 23.
And smait the first sa rigorusly.	B. VII 449; A. 4, 25.
For to manteyme that stalward stour.	B. XI 401; A. 45, 7; A. 46, 19.
Thai dang on othir with vapnys seir.	B. XII 511; A. 415, 9.
Inmyd the vysage met thame thar.	B. XII 576; A. 4, 28; A. 410, 17.
Thar men mycht se ane stalward stour.	B. XII 577; A. 34, 5.
Ane felloune fechting wes than thair.	B. XIV 294; A. 77, 31.
And sic dyntis about him dang.	B. XVII 155; A. 43, 3.
For quhen that he his poynt mycht (culd) se.	B. VII 388; A. 45, 14.
He all till-hewyt that he ourtuk.	B. II 381; A. 366, 11.
Undyr hors feyt defoulyt thar (swa).	B. II 389; A. 86, 6.
That arme and schuldyr flaw him fra.	B. III 115; A. 411, 5.
He rouschit doun of blude all rede.	B. III 139; B. V 645; A. 33, 31; A. 413, 13.
Till top our taill he gert him ly.	B. VII 455; A. 72, 8.
Till red blude ran of voundis rath.	B. VIII 322; A. 401, 30.
That we of purpos ger thame (him) faill.	B. XI 68; A. 71, 13.
And slew all that thai mycht ourta.	B. XIII 93; A. 379, 21; B. IV 415; B. XVI 638.
That all the feldis strowit war.	B. XIV 443; B. XVI 633; A. 53, 4.
Gifand an takand woundis wyd.	B. XIII 160; B. XV 54; A. 222, 8; B. VI 288.
And syne vend to the vod avay.	B. V 561; A. 215, 32.
He turnit his bridill an to ga.	B. VIII 351; A. 87, 18; A. 218, 4.
That sum war ded and sum war tane.	B. VIII 353; A. 384, 18; B. IX 263.
The remanand thar gat ar gane,	B. VIII 354; A. 363, 28.
And magre thairis left the place.	B. XIII 170; A. 36, 12.
And sum of thame fled all planly.	B. XIII 277; A. 61, 1.
That thai that fle mycht fled avay.	B. XVIII 468; A. 53, 7; A. 423, 15.

Thus maid wes (mak thay) pes quhar wer wes air.	B. XX 63; A. 429, 20.
For thai that dredand (doutand) war to de.	B. IV 417; A. 385, 26.
And lap on hym delyverly.	B. II 142; A. 398, 2.
His assenȝhe can he cry.	B. II 378; A. 4, 14; B. III 27.
His men till him he gan rely.	B. III 34; B. IV 426; A. 4, 4.
With that in hy to him callyt (turnit) he.	B. III 331; A. 89, 15.
Syne (all) in ane sop assemblit ar.	B. VII 567; A. 4, 16.
With spurys he strak the steid of pris (pryde).	B. VIII 79; A. 83, 9.
And towart him he went (come) in hy.	B. XII 39; A. 102, 21.
And till his menȝhe can he say.	B. XV 471; A. 7, 8.
He maid thame mekill fest and far.	B. XVI 46; A. 433, 20.
flowris weill savourit of seir colowris.	B. XVI 70; A. 248, 23; A. 159, 24.
That in his hert gret angyr hes.	B. VIII 16; A. 24, 15; A. 431, 19.
He prysit hym in his hert gretly.	B. XI 58; A. 93, 20.
Quhar velcum heir all tym (mot ever) ȝe be.	B. XVIII 536; A. 304, 14.
And pensalis to the vynd vaffand.	B. XI 193; A. 33, 20.
Thai tursit thair harnes halely.	B. IX 360; A. 3, 11.
Armyt in armys gude and fyne.	B. XII 32; A. 46, 28; A. 54, 23.
And als a man of mekill mycht.	B. V 294; A. 57, 25.
And he that stalward wes and stout.	B. VI 146; A. 58, 7.
Cum on forouten dreid or aw.	B. XI 555; A. 10, 29.
Quharfor I zow requeir and pray.	B. XII 263; A. 125, 14.
That wer fulfillit of gret bounte.	B. XII 423; A. 297, 3; A. 344, 6.
Quhy suld I mak to lang my tale.	B. XI 135; A. 277, 4; A. 440, 12; A. 417, 4.
Thousand armyt on hors bath fut and hand.	B. XIX 411; A. 53, 18.
Men mycht se than that had beyn by.[1]	B. XI 126; A. 98, 18.

[1] I had undergone for fully two months the painful drudgery of comparing the Scottish translation with the *Bruce* in order to collect parallel passages, when I chanced in the programme '*The Taymouth Castle Ms. of Sir Gilbert Hay's Buik of King Alexander*, by Dr. Albert Herrmann (Berlin 1898) to observe that that gentleman had published some years earlier a dissertation on the Scottish translation of 1438. On obtaining the dissertation I found that the author had noted fully 30 % more parallels than I had then myself been able to gather and I gladly availed myself of his labours and now acknowledge with pleasure my great indebtedness. It seems extraordinary considering the pains Dr. H. had bestowed in his examination of the poem that he should for one moment have allowed himself to entertain the belief that the translator of a long work like the *Alexander* had ransacked the *Bruce* merely to pick out a few hundred lines of the same French poem supposed to have been translated some 60 years earlier by John Barbour! I have little doubt that Dr. Herrmann will see the matter in a new light now. It is to be hoped

Two questions are suggested by these parallel passages, vizt. (1) Did the 1438 translator of the *Alexander* borrow from *The Bruce*? or, (2) Has the *Alexander* translation been used by a fifteenth century editor of *The Bruce*?

In considering the first question let us assume that Barbour while composing *The Bruce* had certain episodes of the famous French Alexander Romance before him as models, which he imitated extensively; and further that he translated couplets and single lines, incorporating them in his own work. There is of course nothing improbable in such an assumption *per se*; but observe where it leads us. If we accept it as true, then we must also believe that a poet, a skilful versifier, while engaged, some sixty years later, on a complete translation of the identical episodes of the French romance, took the infinite trouble to hunt through the long *Bruce* manuscript not merely to pick out the scattered lines translated by Barbour, but to fit these, one by one, into the narrative as the French original required. Every one who considers the question will agree that any such explanation is simply incredible.

The translator of the *Alexander* tells us, —[1]

'For to translait in Inglis leid
Ane romaine quilk I hard reid * * * 107. 21.

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that he will soon publish an edition of the Scottish translation of the *Alexander* of 1438, for which no one is better qualified, as his dissertation shews. I take the following additional parallels *en bloc* from his tractate; — I 160 : 8,8; I 302 : 128,31 : 437,1 : I 318 : VIII 481 : 278,9 : I 453 : 99,14; II 170 : IX 306 : 410,18 : II 233 : 74,30 : II 339 : 87,8 : III 139 : 33,31 : V 253 : 294,32 : VI 131 : 16,32 : 420,4 : VI 148 : 49,17 : VII 449 : 40,2 : 4,25 : VII 450 : 46,14 : VII 471 : 6,6 : 38,24 : VII 591 : 5,29 : VIII 268 : 54,19 : VIII 320 : 30,2 : 92,10 : IX 8 : 2,26 : VIII 85 : 79,26 : IX 566 : 238,11 : X 100 : 12,29 : X 654 f : 245,3 f : XI 251 : 338,14 : XI 392 f : 117,30 : XI 419 : 8,19 : XI 408 : XII 204 : 342,17 : 31,11 f : 315,6 : XI 558 : 141,25 : XI 571 : 175,28 : XII 489 : 248,5 : XII 504 f : 286,10 f : XII 582 : 382,18 : XII 618 : 34,16 : XIII 38; 3,14 : XIII 260 : 112,22 : XIII 268 : 52,32 : XIII 323 : 286,16 : XIII 600 : 219,9 : XIV 84 : 52,21 : XV 139 : 387,28 : XV 501 : 385,31 : XV 546 : 304,5 : XVI 110 : XVI 140 : 51,31 : XVII 115 : 8,1 : XVII 388 : 54,15 : 99,6 : XVII 486 : 370,17 : XVIII 562 : 234,23 : XIX 587 : 39,31 : XX 278 : 51,3 : XX 280 : 26,2. The Roman numerals indicate the Book of *The Bruce*; the *Alexander* is cited by page and line. I could easily supplement examples from my own list, but it seems quite unnecessary to do so.

[1] Compare with the Prologue of Lydgate's *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, E. E. T. S. edn. Part I line 117 *et seq.*

To short thame that na Romanes can
This buke to translait I began
And as I can, I maid ending.' 441. 21.

He mentions also that he followed 'that in Franche' he 'fand written' endeavouring —

'To mak it on sa gude manere
Sa oppin sentence and sa clere
As is the Frenche.'

His work is made up of three parts (1) The Forray of Gadderis; (2) The Avowes of Alexander, and (3) The Great Battel of Effesoun. The particular text followed in parts I and II is not easily determined; Michelant's edition of the *Alexander* of Lambert the Crooked, and Alexander of Bernay, enables us, however, to follow the Scottish rendering of the Forray of Gadderis through some thousand of lines.[1] The main difficulty in comparing the French and Scottish texts is occasioned by the different arrangement of certain parts of the narrative, the translation having evidently been made from another manuscript than the one edited by M. Michelant.

An affirmative answer to the second question appears to me to be inevitable. Nothing else but redaction of *The Bruce*, subsequent to 1438, will explain the presence in that poem of lines and couplets manifestly transferred from the fifteenth century translation of the *Alexander*. A careful examination of parallel and imitated passages suggests even the method followed by *The Bruce* editor. That he kept the translation before his eyes can scarcely be doubted. The borrowed lines and imitations, scattered throughout the twenty books of *The Bruce*, are far too numerous to have been written from memory. They exhibit deliberate selection, cunning combination, order in apparent disorder.

Take the portrait of the good Lord James Douglas in B. I 380: it is plagiarised, being obtained by blending the portraits of Porrus (176. 5) and the nameless knight (21. 4).[2] In the same way King Robert's address to his men before the battle of Methven is a mere *cento* from the speeches of Emynedus

[1] Dr. Herrmann's 'comparative table' is most helpful towards a collation of Michelant's edition and the Scottish translation.

[2] It will be remembered that *The Bruce* also has a 'nameless knight'.

to his companions, the original shining through the thin veil of tiffany thrown over it by the editor. The closing lines —

'he that dies for his cuntre
Sall herbryt intill hevyn be'

would by themselves lead to discovery of the source. The eulogy of Sir Edward Bruce and of King Robert (B. IX 662) is also a combination of two passages celebrating the courtesy of Gaddifer (97. 11) and Emynedus and his nephew (49. 2).

We see also how frequently single lines descriptive of nature are transferred to *The Bruce* — 'The sone was rysin schynand brycht'[1] and the like. One observes also that the lines on Spring in *The Bruce* that serve as a preface to B. V precede the incident in which King Robert slays the Traitor by means of the bow and arrow of his 'chalmer page': and how in *The Alexander* the original of the prefatory verse is found in the same close relation to the similar incident of Porrus and his little page. The fact that *The Bruce* editor actually quotes from the *Alexander* four lines almost *verbatim* leaves us in no doubt whatever about the source of the Traitor story.

It is unnecessary to multiply examples; a word, however, may be said concerning the extent to which the translation is used in *The Bruce.* Direct quotations of more than single lines is scarcely met with in Books VII, XVI and XVII; it is still slight in Books I, IV, VI, VIII, IX, X, XIV, XV, XIX and XX; in Books II, III, V, XI, XII and XIII, more especially in the last three, it is considerable. In all, the number of lines nearly identical may be approximately estimated at between 150 and 200. But there is also a degree of imitation that testifies quite as much as *verbatim* quotation to the editorial method. Leaving out of view the constantly recurring phrases descriptive of combats — many of them an inheritance from early poets — it is plain when one reads the *Alexander* translation and *The Bruce* together, that a considerable part of the machinery of the latter has been unblushingly borrowed. Like a mole, the fifteenth century editor, burrowing into his material, has thrown up the soil upon the surface in such a way that it is rarely difficult to discover where he has been at work.

[1] This particular one is in *The Wallace* also. Quite two thirds of the others can be traced in *the Wallace*, making the slightest allowance for the heroic metre.

The Ferumbras Romance.

Come now to another equally well known passage. In Book III 435 it is narrated how King Robert the Bruce on the occasion of his followers crossing Loch Lomond —

'Red to thaim that war him by,
Romanys off worthi Ferumbrace,
That worthily our-cummyn was
Throw the rycht douchty Olywer;
And how the duk-peris wer
Assegyt in-till Egrymor,
Quhar King Lawyne lay thaim befor
With may thowsandis then I can say.
And bot eleuen within war thai,
And a woman; and war sa stad,
That thai na mete thar-within had,
Bot as thai fra thar fayis wan.
Yhete sua contenyt thai thaim than,
That thai the tour held manlily,
Till that Rychard off Normandy,
Magre his fayis, warnyt the king
That wes joyfull off this tithing:
For he wend thai had all bene slayne;
Tharfor he turnyt in hy agane
And wan Mantrybill and passit Flagot;
And syne Lawyne and all his flot,
Dispitusly discumfyt he;
And deliueryt his men all fre,
And wan the naylis, and the sper,
And the croune that Jesu couth ber;
And off the croice a gret party
He wan throw his chewalry.'

Of all the Charlemagne romances that of *Ferumbras* was for long the most popular as well in France, where it originated, as in England and Scotland. Professor Skeat's note on the *Bruce* lines is as follows: — '*Ferumbrace*, (Fierabras or Ferumbras) the Saracen was the son of Balan or Lavan the Sultan of Babylon and brother of the fair Floripas or Florippa. We have in English two versions of this romance; one of them the Farmer Ms. analysed by Ellis, and now in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps; the other a fragment of great length in Ms. Ashmole 33. They both belong probably to the end of the fourteenth century. The original of the romance is the French Fierabras; see *Les Anciens Poetes de la France*, tom IV,

&c. Warton's *History of English Poetry*, Ed. Hazlitt ii 197. The Farmer Ms. was printed for the Roxburgh Club in 1854 with the title *Romaunce of the Sowdone of Babylone and of Ferumbras his sone who conquered Rome*, and was reprinted in 1881 by Hausknecht (E. E. T. S.). The Ashmole Ms. begins with the combat between Fierabras (ferri brachium) and Oliver; see the edition by Herrtage (E. E. T. S.) 1899.' The learned Editor of *The Bruce* does not express any opinion on the question whether the Scottish poet was acquainted with the French *Fierabras* or only with one of the English versions. Having no doubt about the authorship of the lines, he appears to have assumed that both English translations were as early as Barbour's day. As a consequence, his annotation of the passage does not touch the vital question at all, which is — whether the epitome in *The Bruce* is due to the poet's knowledge of a French text or merely of an English translation; and further whether John Barbour can be the author of the lines.

Let it be noted that in the French and Provençal texts the hero is always named *Fierabras, Ferabras* and *Fierenbras*, while in Barbour the name occurs as *Ferumbrace*. Practically the same English form of the name is found in both translations, — *Ferumbras* and *Fyrumbras* in the Ashmole poem; and *Ferumbras* in the *Sowdone of Babylone*. That fact by itself, points to a knowledge on the part of the Scottish poet of one or other of the translations. But the name Lawyne is much more tell-tale. In all the French texts save one, the father of Ferumbras is designated *Balan*, the exception being the short work now known as *The Destruction of Rome*, another of the Charlemagne romances. In that work the sowdan is called *Laban*. That poem, however, which is preserved in an unique ms., is merely related to the Charlemagne cycle and is certainly not identical with what M. Gaston Paris styles the French Balan romance.[1]

In the Ashmolean *Ferumbras* the name occurs always as *Balan*. Not so, however, in *The Sowdone of Babylone* where it generally is written as *Laban*, but also, be it noted, as *Lavane* —

[1] See an interesting account of the Hanover Ms. in *Romania* Tome XXVIII October 1899.

'O quod Lavane what may this be
To suffer this amonge my knyghtes alle?'

Now Dr. Hausknecht has shewn that while the Ashmolean *Ferumbras* is on the whole 'a mere translation of a French original, the *Sowdone* must be looked upon as a free reproduction of an English redactor, who, though following his original as far as regards the course of events, modelled the matter given there, according to his own genius, and thus came to compose an independent work of his own * * *. The subject of 'the introductory account' or the first part of the Sowdone is nearly the same as that of the *Destruction de Rome*, differing from this poem only in the omission of a few insignificant incidents or minor episodes, and in greater conciseness, which latter circumstances, however, enter into the general plan of the author'. The *Destruction of Rome* does not relate the Ferumbras story epitomised in *The Bruce*; it is interesting, however, to observe that it, the only French poem which calls Balan *Laban*, is incorporated in the *Sowdone.* It is observable enough also that in the *Sowdone* the name *Laban* occurs; but it is surely conclusive of their intimate relation to each other to find that the *Sowdone* and *The Bruce* alone preserve the form of the name as *Lavane* or *Lawyne.* Besides, the *Sowdone* relates exactly the whole of the story epitomised by the Scottish poet.[1] So much being discoverable from an examination of the French and English texts of the *Ferumbras,* it remains to be seen whether Barbour writing in 1375 could have known the *Sowdone of Babylone.* Here Dr. Hausknecht's testimony, given without any idea of its bearing on any question relating to *The Bruce*, may be requisitioned. He points out that the opinion of Warton, Ellis and others who have regarded the poem as belonging to the end of the fourteenth century, must be wrong. 'Having seen' he says 'from the summary of grammatical peculiarities that there is a great similarity between the language of Chaucer and that of the composer of this romance we might be inclined to consider the latter as a contemporary of Chaucer. From some passages of the *Sowdone* which seem to contain allusions to Chaucerian poetry we may conclude that the poet must have known the

[1] Compare from l. 2146. Every line is traceable in the *Sowdone.*

Canterbury Tales.'[1] Having set forth the parallel passages of the *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales*, the *Knightes Tale* and the *Prologue of Queen Anelida and False Arcite*,[2] Dr. Hausknecht concludes that as the *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales* and the *Knightes Tale* were composed after 1389 the poet of the *Sowdone* cannot have been merely a later contemporary of Chaucer but must have lived some time after him. 'This would bring us,' he says, 'to the beginning of the fifteenth century as the date of the romance.' My own opinion is that the *Sowdone* belongs to even a later time than the editor suggests; but even assuming it to have been composed as early as 1400 that date would altogether preclude any knowledge of the poem on the part of John Barbour.

But we have further evidence, which no one hitherto seems to have observed, to shew that the *Sowdone* is another source of *The Bruce*, used in two of the best known of its episodes, vizt. the Douglas Castle and Linlithgow Peel stratagems. In the *Sowdone* we are told how Charlemagne, marching on Mauntrybill commissioned Rychard of Normandy with twelve knights disguised as merchants,[3] having weapons hidden under their clothes, to effect a capture of the bridge by surprising its keeper. Rychard proposed that Charles should lie privily with his army in a wood near by —

'And XII of us shalle us araye
In gyse of stronge marchauntes,
And fille oure somers withe fog and haye
To passe the brigge Currauntes.
We shalle be armed under the cote
with good swerdes wele i-gyrde,
We most paye tribute wele I wote,
An elles over we may not sterte.
But whan the chaynes be lete down
Ouer ther for to passe,

[1] Dr. Hausknecht's examination of the dialect and grammar is excellent. No one will doubt, who reads his Introduction, that the *Sowdone* is post Chaucerian.

[2] Note that these identical sources are used by the poet of *The Wallace.*

[3] The merchants filled their 'somers with fog and haye'. Dr. Hausknecht omits 'fog' from his glossary & does not annotate the passage: but 'fog' is simply *moss*, and the load is practically the same as in *The Bruce* episodes.

Than wole I that ye come on
In haste to that same place.
When I see tyme for to come
Than shalle I my horne blow,
Loke ye be redy alle and some
For that shall ye welle knowe.

The ruse succeeded, the bridge keeper being slain by Rychard 'with a barr of bras' that 'he caught at the gate', and entry to the city was obtained for Charles and his troops. This episode, so closely related to *The Bruce*, is peculiar to the *Sowdone*, the story being quite different in the Ashmolean *Ferumbras*.

The Story of Thebes: the Tydeus Episode.

Let us turn now to a passage extending to fully a hundred lines, occurring in B. VI 180. In the first sixteen lines we have a summary of the well known story, told by Statius, of the sons of Oedipus who agreed to reign alternately, each for a year — leading up to the incident where Tydeus, after escaping from Thebes, vanquished singlehanded fifty men. The classical story is brought into *The Bruce* as an 'ensample' in order to give an air of probability to the incident that immediately precedes it, where King Robert is made to perform a feat of arms even more prodigious. Professor Skeat, never doubting the lines to be by Barbour, concludes that they are borrowed direct from the *Thebaid* of Statius. Such an opinion, as we shall see immediately, is demonstrably erroneous. The entire passage is almost certainly derived from the *Story of Thebes* a poem written by Lydgate when he was 'nie fifty yeare of age' or, in other words, in or about the year 1420.

It matters little for our present purpose whether Lydgate, as Dr. Koeppel supposes, translated partly from the Latin text of Statius and partly from some lost French prose version of the classical epic. It is enough to be able to shew that Lydgate's work and the hundred lines of *The Bruce* are too closely related to be independent translations either of Statius or of a supposed lost prose version. A comparison of the *Thebaid* and of Lydgate's work will satisfy every one that the latter is an abridgement, and at the same time a very free

paraphrase, of the classical Latin text; in no proper sense is it a translation. Lydgate himself informs us that the poem was intended to be a supplementary *Canterbury Tale* treating of part of the same story 'compendiously rehearsed in the *Knighte's Tale*'. Instead of the tedious rhetoric and cumbrous mythology of the Roman poet we have in the English version, what Warton very well characterised as 'the Thebaid of a Troubadour', the old classical tale 'clothed with feudal manners, enlarged with new fictions of a Gothic species and furnished with descriptions, circumstances, and machineries, appropriated to a romance of chivalry'. The chivalric embroidery gives to the English version a character all its own: there is nothing in Statius to suggest it.

Now, when we compare the *Story of Thebes* and *The Bruce* as regards the Tydeus passage common to both, we find that (1) they agree in detail with each other and (2) they both differ alike from the Latin text. For example, where Statius tells us that Eteocles ordered 'a chosen band'[1] to lay an ambuscade for Tydeus, Lydgate and the Scottish poet specify the number as *fifty*, under a leader who is called in the *Story of Thebes* 'Chief Constable of his (Eteocles) chivalry', and in *The Bruce* 'his (Eteocles) constable.' The place of the ambuscade, according to the Roman poet, was 'far from Thebes beside two hills whose summits rose towards heaven, one side bounded by a grove, the middle space overshadowed by a mountain'. In Lydgate it is described as 'under a hille at a streite passage'; in *The Bruce* 'betwix ane hye crag and the se'. Then, the approach of Tydeus is thus described in the Thebaid —

> 'Coeperat humenti Phoebum subtexere palla
> Nox, et coeruleam terris insuderat umbram.
> Ille propinquabat sylvis, et ab aggere celso
> Scuta virum, galeasque videt rutilare comantes,
> Qua laxant rami nemus, adversaque sub umbra
> Flammeus aeratis Lunae tremor errat in armis.
> Obstupuit visis, ibat tamen.[2]

This is Lydgate's rendering of these lines, —

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[1] Simply 'a number of young warriors'. We do not hear of *fifty* until far on in the story in B. III.

[2] Book II l. 636.

> 'But at the last, liftyng up his hede
> Toward Eve, he gan taken hede,
> Mid of his waye riȝt as eny lyne
> Thoght he saugh ageyn the mone shyne;
> Sheldes fresshe and plates borned bright
> The which environ casten a gret lyght;
> Ymagynyng in his fantasye &c.'

In *The Bruce* the same passage reads thus, —

> 'And as he raid into the nycht
> Sa saw he with the monys licht
> Schynyng of scheldis gret plente
> He had woundir quhat it mycht be &c.'

It will not readily be believed that the classical parsimony of independent translators should be so nearly alike as unquestionably it is in these two examples.

Again, when the details of the famous encounter are examined one remarks the great similarity in diction and thought. Lydgate tells how Tydeus slew 'the first platly that he mete'; how he his 'swerde whette'; how 'on ane hill he fond a narrow passage' from which vantage ground he hurled 'an huge ston' on his foes so that ten of them 'wenten unto wrak and the remnaunt amased drogh abak'. In *The Bruce*, Tydeus 'ruschit in among his foes' and —

> 'The first he met he gert him fall;
> And syne his suerde he swappit out.'

Then —

> 'A litill rod he fand
> Up toward the crag strikand'

from which he 'tumlit down' 'a gret stane' killing ten men; by which feat he

> 'sua stonait the remanand
> that thai war weil neir recryand.'

Statius tells how the whole band was slain save one, but Lydgate is particular in stating that Tydeus —

> 'Fyfty knyghtes slogh in his dyffence
> But on except'

who was reserved to 'make relacyone' to Eteocles.

The same circumlocution is followed by the Scottish poet: Tydeus —

> 'Hewit and slew with all his mayn
> Till he had nyne and fourty slane,'

preserving one man in order that

> 'he suld ga
> To King Etheocles and tell
> The auenture that thame befell.'

The Hannibal example.

We have seen that a considerable portion of Barbour's poem is incorporated in Wyntoun's *Cronykil* with express acknowledgment; and that, with the exception of that portion, no text older than the Cambridge Ms., written by Ramsay in 1487, is now extant. Consequently it is only by a minute and painstaking examination of fifteenth century manuscripts that we can hope to clear up the question of redaction now under discussion. Further, when we find Wyntoun at several places acknowledging the Archdeacon's 'Buk' as one of his sources, it certainly seems most natural to assume, in other places where there is no express citation of the original but where nevertheless there is striking agreement in thought or diction between the *Cronykil* and *The Bruce*, that the fourteenth century poem is still being used by the fifteenth century chronicler. Such lines, for example, as those referring to Julius Caesar in B. IV ch. XVII, 2312 of the *Cronykil* —

> 'Thai stekyd hym rycht fellownly
> Wytht scharpe pownsownys, * * * *'

look uncommonly like direct appropriation from the Julius Caesar passage in *The Bruce* —

> 'Slayne with punsounes rycht to the ded.'

The same may be said of the two lines in the Proem of the *Cronykil* —

> 'For romans to rede is delytabylle
> Suppos that thai be quhyle bot fabylle'

and the opening words of *The Bruce* —

> 'Storyss to rede are delitable
> Suppos that thai be nocht bot fabill.'

The *prima facie* presumption in such instances, therefore, will undoubtedly require strong evidence to rebut it. So much may be admitted frankly. But at the same time we must take care not to accept the presumption as establishing the fact.

If the evidence be indeed sufficiently strong to raise a presumption that in every case Wyntoun is the borrower from Barbour, then every test, fairly applied, will strengthen rather than weaken it.

While holding it as certain that Wyntoun borrowed from Barbour, I also maintain that a fifteenth century editor of *The Bruce*, deliberately embellishing that poem, laid Wyntoun's *Cronykil* under contribution; and on that hypothesis I base the argument which follows.

We shall begin by examining a passage of *The Bruce* and its parallel in the *Cronykil*, placing them side by side. The lines in Wyntoun which have nothing corresponding to them in *The Bruce* are printed in italics to facilitate comparison.

The Bruce III 207.	Wyntoun IV Ch. 16 1545 & Ch. 17.
For Rome quhilum sa hard was stad	To the Romanys but ony wene
Quhen Hannibal thaim wencusyt had	This the lattast day had bene
	Gyve Hannibal in tyll all hy
	Quhen done was all the wictory
	Had past strawcht wytht his menyhe
	For tyll have tane up the cite,
	In takyn off that wictory
	Quhen endyt was this juperdy
That off ryngis with rich stane	Off gold rengys fayre and brycht
That war off knychtis fyngeris tane	Tane off thare fyngrys slayne in fycht
He send thre bollis to Cartage;	Thre moys that was thre bollys mete
And syne to Rome tuk his wiage	This Hanyball wythowtyn lete.
Thar to destroye the cite all.	To Cartage gert in hy be send
And thai within bath gret and small	Quhen that this jornay had tane end.
Had fled quhen thai saw him cummyng	Than were the Romanys sa wa
Had nocht bene Scipio the ying	And for this cas disparyd swa
That, or thai fled, wald thaim haiff slayn,	That thai maid thame haly bowne
And swagat turnyt thaim agayn.	For till have fled and left the towne.
Syne for to defend the cite	Na hade bene Scypio Affrycane.
Serwandis and threllis made he fre	That off the knychtis wes chyftane
And maid thaim knychtis euirilkane;	Wyth drawin swerd that held thame in
And syne has off the temples tane	*And thoucht awantage yhit to wyne.*
The armys that thar eldrys bar	*Off Counsale than wyth owtyn bade*
In name of wictory offeryt thar.	Off the threllys that thai hade
And quhen thai armyt war and dycht	*Bowcht before off commowne prys*
That stalwart karlis war and wycht	*Wyth-in the towne* to mak serwys
And saw that thai war fre alsua	He made knychtis in that nede
Thaim thocht that thai hadleuir ta	And thaim arayid in honest wede.
The ded, na lat the toun be tane.	And armwrys that halowyd ware
And with commowne assent as ane	To goddys in thair tempyllis thare

Thai ischit off the toun to fycht
Quhar Hanniball his mekill mycht
Aganys thaim arayit was.
Bot throw mycht off Goddis grace,
It ranyt sa hard and hewyly
That thar wes nane so hardy
That durst into that place abid:
Bot sped thaim intill hy to rid:
The ta part to thair pailȝownys
The tothir part went in the toun is
The rayne thus lettyt the fechtyn:
Sa did it twyss thar eftir syne:
Quhen Hanibal saw this ferly
With all his gret chewalry
He left the toun and held his way:

Thai tuk in that necessyte
And in thai gert thame armyd be
All thai threllys evryilkane
For that ensawmpyll had thai tane
Be counsale off ane Junyus
That tauld thame has that Romulus
Off murtheraris he knychtis made
And thewys that he in presoun hade.
And mysdoarys mony ma
All unpunysyd he lete ga
In fredome quhill that he had hale
Sex thousand wycht men to batale.
The Romanys be this counsall sone
The lyk maner has all done
Sa Rom before disparyd than
Respyre in to gud hope began.
Bot yhit, as Orosius
In tyll his cornyklis tellis us
Quha that in Rome befor had bene
And had off it the wyrschype sene,
He wald have bene all rede for schame
Fra he had sene thare reale fame
Chawngyd and thare reawte
Than turnyd in deformyte
For nane thare gouernale than had
To sauff barnyss off yhowthad
Threllys, both bownd &r carle
That osyd befor to bere and harle;
And suppos that thai war soucht
And all in tyll hale nowmyr broucht
Yhit war thai nocht to sicht plesand
Na in tyll all point sufficiand;
For that tyme all thaire senatowrys
That chosyn wes to thare succowrys
Behuwyd to be in thare serwys
Informyd and kend, as yhong nowys.

Chap. XVII.

How Hanyball throw schowrys snell
Wes lettyde off his purpos felle.
Twa hundyr yhere and twyss thre
Befor the blessit Natyvyte
Hanyball, wytht mekyll bost
Off Champayne mowyd hale his host
And thre myle wyth out the town abade
And tharefore the Romans murnyng made
And all the senatowrys ilkane
Sa wytht radnes wes ourtane

And owte off thare wit sa qwyte
That thai were, but pres, discumfyte,
Yhit the women nevyrtheless
Apon the wallis besy wes,
Layand stanys here and thare
Quhare that thai thoucht mast lykely ware
Thame to defend in tyme off were
Eftyr as thai saw thare mystere.
And Hanniball with his host syne
Come to the yhet wes callyd Collyne
Thare the Consule Fulvyus
Saw that he wes cummyn thus
Gaddryd all the Romanys hale
For tyll have gyvyn thare batale:
And as thai suld have sammyn bene
Togyddre runnyn on the grene,
Sa gret tempest and haylestane wycht
Fell wyth sik fors and wyth sic pyth
That bathe the ostis anoyid wes sare
Or thai wythin thare tentis ware.
Thus fyrst quhen-that that tempest left
For tyll have met thai trysted eft
The neyst tyme that thai mycht se
A day set in serenyte.
On the tyme that thai that sete
Bathe hayle and tempest were thame wete
That wytht mare dowt etchapyde thai
Than na thai did the fyrst day.
Hanybill be that welle thoucht
That he be man was lettyd nocht
To wast and mide the cite
Bot throucht Goddys gret powste;
Fra Rome than he remowyd hale
Hys ost, but fanding off batale.

That we have here two closely related passages does not admit of doubt. How is the relation explainable? Is it an instance of copying, on the part of Wyntoun, from Barbour? Any such assumption, as we shall see immediately, becomes highly improbable as soon as the evidence is carefully examined. The 'three bollis' of rings might be merely a dismembered phrase, reminiscent of Barbour, if it stood alone; but similarities in thought and language permeate both narratives. Wyntoun's account of Hannibal, through whole chapters, is a consecutive discourse, written not from memory, but line by line from a

determinate source. He tells us expressly that his authorities are Orosius and Martinus Polonus[1], and a glance at the

[1] Chap. VIII.

De Lucio Aemilio.

A. U. C. 540. Nec dubium, illum diem Romani status ultimum fuisse, si Annibal mox post victoria ad urbem accessisset. Annibal vero in testimonium tantae victoriae, tres modios aureorum anulorum Carthaginem misit, quos ex manibus, interfectorū nobilium extraxerat; sicut dicit Orosius; et in tantū jam desperauerant Romani, quod ab Urbe fugere volebāt: nisi Scipio Aphricanus, tunc Tribunus militum, stricto gladio ipsos coërcuisset. Tunc Romani de publico pretio seruos emptos, milites fecerunt. Arma diis consecrata de templis acceperunt. Junius quoque Dictator, antiquum Romuli factū recolens, pro supplemento exercitus, latrones, homicidas et cuiuscunq̄, sceleris homines obnoxii essent, impunitate promissa, militiae mancipauit, quorum numerus ad sex millia virorum fuit. Tunc Roma desperata spem habere coepit. Qui tunc (sicut dicit Orosius) Romanam militiam vidisset, rubore perfundi potuisset; quia nisi aut puer, aut seruus, aut sceleratus, aut debitor, erat. Et nec sic quidem numerus idoneus erat. Senatus omnis, pene nouitius videbatur.

Chap. IX.

De Annibale et Scipione.

A. U. C. 593. Anno ab urbe condita quingentesimo quadragesimo tertio, Annibal de Campania mouens exercitum, tribus miliaribus ab urbe cōsedit Romani totius ciuitatis, cum senatoribus populoque, stupore et metu perculsi, velut amentes facti sunt. Foeminae quoque per propugnacula concurrerunt saxa convehentes, primae et promptae de muris pugnare. Annibal vero cum exercitu suo, usque ad portam Collinā, accessit. Sed Fuluius Proconsul, cum Romanis adversus ipsum aciem direxit. At ubi cōgredi debuissent, pluuia cum grandine mixta, tanta se effudit, ut turbata agmina vix possent ad castra redire. Deinde, quum serenitas rediisset, et illi acie iterata ad pugnam disposuissent, rursus violentior venit tempestas, compellens exercitus ad tentoria refugere. Et sic Annibal, advertens quod ad subvertendam urbem Romanam non obsisteret fortitudo sed diuina miseratio, ab urbe discessit. Martinus Polonus. Opera p. 81: edition Suffredus Antwerp 1574.

The following is the text of Orosius: —

Nec dubium est, ultimum illum diem Romani status futurum fuisse, si Annibal mox post victoriam ad pervadendam Urbem contendisset. Annibal in testimonium victoriae suae tres modios annulorum aureorum Carthaginem misit, quos ex manibus interfectorum equitum Romanorum senatorumque detraxerat. Usque adeo autem ultima desperatio Reipublicae apud Romanos fuit ut senatores de relinquenda Italia consilium ineundum putarint. Quod auctore Caecilio Metello confirmatum fuisset, nisi Cornelius Scipio tribunus tunc militum districto gladio deterruisset, ac potius pro patriae defensione in sua verba jurare coegisset. Romani dictatorem

text of Martinus confirms the statement, if any confirmation be needed. His knowledge of Orosius one can see is derived from Martinus. Did he in the course of translating a long story extending through several chapters, remembering that Barbour had taken an 'ensample' from Martinus, turn from his author to *The Bruce* and imitate a passage of some forty lines? That was not his usual method of working. One remembers how when he wrote Chapter 2 Book VIII he simply incorporated some hundreds of lines from Barbour's 'Buk' *verbatim* giving the Archdeacon praise for having 'tretyde' the subject 'more wysely'

'Than I can thynk with all my wyt.'

He did the same thing in the case of several chapters of B. VIII which he found ready to his hand, composed by an anonymous person;[1] and so at the beginning of Chapter XX after acknowledging his indebtedness, he adds with delightful frankness that he neither wishes to 'usurp fame' nor 'bere more blame than he deserwys'.

In the passage under examination are we to suppose that he found some forty or more octosyllabic lines ready to hand, composed by Barbour, and set himself the task of rendering them of new in the same metre? That is what he must have done if we allow ourselves to entertain the belief that *The Bruce* is the original. But fortunately it will not be difficult

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Decimum Junium creant, qui, delectu habito ab annis decem et septem, immaturae militiae quatuor legiones undecunque contraxit. Tunc etiam servos, vel oblatos, vel, si ita opus fuit, publico pretio emtos sub titulo libertatis, sacramento militiae adegit. Junius quoque dictator homines quicunque sceleribus obnoxii essent impunitate promissa, militiae mancipavit, quorum numerus ad sex millia virorum fuit. Omnis Italia ad Annibalem, desperata Romani status reparatione, deficit * * * *. Annibal in Italiam venerat * * * *. Ipse autem usque ad portam Collinam accessit deinde omnes copias in aciem direxit. Sed et consules non detractavere pugnam. At ubi expositae utrimque acies constiterunt, tantus se imber e nubibus effudit, ut vix armis retentis in sua se castra colligerent. Deinde cum serenitate reddita in aciem redissent, rursum violentior fusa tempestas, exercitus refugere in tentoria coegit. Tunc Annibal dixisse fertur potiundae sibi Romae modo voluntatem non dari modo potestatem. Respondeant nunc mihi obtrectatores veri Dei, Annibali utrum Romana obstitit fortitudo, an divina miseratio? Orosius (E. E. T. Soc. Sweet) p. 191—195.

[1] These chapters present a problem which, I hope, M. Amours will solve in the new edition of Wyntoun for the Scot. T. Society.

to satisfy one who approaches the question with an open mind (1) that Wyntoun did not imitate *The Bruce* passage; (2) that *The Bruce* passage is not an independent translation; and (3) that it is copied from the Cronykil.

At the outset, notice how closely Wyntoun renders the general sense of Martinus; and how much fuller and more particular is his narrative than the one in *The Bruce*. The greater fulness and particularity, indeed, prove conclusively that in composing he used Martinus, not *The Bruce*. Being thus certain that Wyntoun's author is Martinus, we must now, if possible, ascertain if the Hannibal lines in *The Bruce* bear the stamp of an independent translation. The agreement with Martinus is much too close for it to be considered to be written from memory; and that being so the comparison of the vernacular versions with each other, and with the Latin text, is all the more interesting.

First: there are identical errors and amplifications: (a) both versions mistranslate Martinus in stating that the thralls were made *knights*, whereas the text simply implies that they were made soldiers (*militiae; milites*); and (b) there is nothing in Martinus that should lead us to expect independent translators to ascribe such a victory to God and in terms so similar —

'Bot throw Goddis gret powste'
'Bot throw the mycht of Goddis grace.'

Second: it is noticeable that Wyntoun follows his author in differentiating between the thralls who were made freedmen by Junius in return for military service, and the gaol delivery by which thieves, in the days of Romulus, were set at large in order that they might serve in the war. The distinction is missed altogether in *The Bruce*. Third: wherever the *Bruce* lines differ in sense from the *Cronykil* they also differ from Martinus. Wyntoun says the 'three bollis' of rings were of gold; so does Martinus. The composer of *The Bruce* lines says they were 'ringis with rich stane'. And lastly: there is not one single touch in the whole *Bruce* passage, peculiar to it, which accords either with Orosius or Martinus, — e. g. the author of *The Bruce* lines, carelessly summarising Wyntoun says the rain 'lettyt the fechtyn *twyss*' after the first great storm, which is a mistake. Here also the *Cronykil* follows

Martinus. It is most noticeable also that in *The Bruce* the egregious blunder is made of treating two distinct incidents far separated in point of time, as one and the same. Wyntoun follows Martinus exactly in the division of the chapters, merely substituting Christian chronology for Roman. The mistake in *The Bruce* would not be readily made by one using Martinus at first hand: it is easily accounted for when one observes, in the very lines that occasion the false nexus, that the *Cronykil* is still being used. Wyntoun at the beginning of Chapter XVII speaks of Hannibal 'with mekyll bost' moving hishost from Campania towards Rome, which be it observed is an amplification of his author. So in *The Bruce* the phrase 'Hannibal his mekyll mycht' is an echo of the Cronykil, not a translation of anything in Martinus.

Unless, therefore, *The Bruce* is to be treated differently from other works, it is surely evident that the ordinary and fair tests of historical criticism point to the whole Hannibal passage as derived from the *Cronykil*, and consequently to its being an interpolation in the authentic text of John Barbour.

When the true relation of the Hannibal passage is realised it becomes easier to account for certain other lines and stanzas common to the *Cronykil* and *The Bruce*. For example if the opening lines of *The Bruce* are borrowed from Wyntoun's proem, it is an instance precisely analogous to Ramsay's appropriation of the opening lines of the *Gest Historiale* for the proem of *The Wallace*.

(a) Editing of the Manuscripts.
(b) The interpolated passage relating to the Bruce's Heart.
(c) Froissarts *Chronicles* a source of *The Bruce*.

In editing *The Bruce*, Professor Skeat had the choice of two manuscripts, both written by John Ramsay, the Cambridge in 1487, the Edinburgh in 1489. He chose the former, considering it 'as far as it goes the better of the two', obtaining, however, several corrections from the Edinburgh manuscript as well as from certain old printed editions, particularly Hart's, published in 1610. Now, while one must be

glad to possess the text of the earlier Ms. it appears to me extremely doubtful indeed if it should be regarded as better than the Edinburgh, or even as the best basis for a critical edition of the poem. Each has its own 'better readings' but in one important respect at least, notwithstanding the intimation of the colophon that it was written hurriedly (*raptim scriptus*), the Edinburgh ms. is I believe the more valuable of the two. While I agree with Professor Skeat in holding that Hart's edition is derived 'from a Ms. now lost, which was fuller than either the Cambridge or Edinburgh mss.', I go further and say that the Manuscripts and Hart's edition represent three distinct stages of editing — the Cambridge, the earliest; the Edinburgh, a later; and the lost Ms., which for convenience may be cited as 'Hart's', the latest.

Let us begin by noting (1) that the Cambridge Ms. has 80 lines which are awanting in the Edinburgh Ms.; (2) that the Edinburgh has 39 lines awanting in the Cambridge Ms. and (3) that Hart preserves (a) 65 of the above mentioned 80 lines of the Cambridge Ms., generally, however, in a form more or less evidencing revision; (b) 37 of the 39 lines of the Edinburgh Ms. and (c) 51 lines not found in either the Cambridge or Edinburgh mss.

If the question — Which of these three versions is the best? — were to be decided simply according to the greatest number of lines preserved by each, then we should require to place Hart's first, the Cambridge second and the Edinburgh last; but such adjudication would be worthless for any purpose whatever. To have any literary value the examination must take account, if possible, of the relation of the one version to the other. Only by that method need we ever hope to reach an appreciation.

§ I. Of the 15 lines found only in the Cambridge Ms. not much need be said. Without exception, they are feeble specimens of versification which an author, refining his work, would be most likely to excise from a second edition. One of them indeed (Book XVIII l. 537) makes three lines rime together and is pronounced by Professor Skeat to be 'probably spurious'. In Book VIII l. 489 where we read —

> 'And quhen he ded wes as ȝhe her
> Thai fand in-till his awmener

A letter, that him send ane lady
That he lufit per drowry
* The letter spak in this maner 493
That said quhen he had ȝemyt a ȝer
In wer, as ane gude bachiller.
* And gouernit weill in all maner 495
The auenturus castell off Douglas
That to kepe so perelous was,
Than mycht he weill ask ane lady
Her amouris and her drowry'

it will be allowed by every one that the passage is improved by the deletion of the two lines marked by an asterisk.

But another passage is more instructive. In Book VI l. 73 where the famous adventure of Bruce with the sleuth-hound is narrated, we are told that two servants accompanied the king on a reconnoitreing expedition. After crossing a deep stream, the king listened intently for the enemy —

'Gif he oucht herd of thare cummyng
Bot ȝeit than mycht he heir na thing.
Endlang the vattir than ȝeid he 75
On athir syde gret quantité;
He saw the brayis hye standand
The vattir holl throu slike rynand
And fand na furd that men mycht pas 80
Bot quhar himself our passit was.
And sua strate wes the up-cummyng
That twa men mycht nocht sammyn thryng
Na on na maner press thame sua
That thai sammyn the land mycht ta.
* His twa men bad he than in hy 85*
* Ga to thair feris to rest and ly
* For he wald wach thar com to se.
* 'Schir' said thai 'quha sall with ȝow be'?
* 'God', he said, 'forouten ma;
* Pas on, for I will it be swa'. 90*
* Thai did as he thame biddin had
* And he thar all allane abaid.
Quhen he a quhile had biddin thare
And herbryit, he herd as it war
A hundis quhistlyng upon fer 95
That ay com till him ner and ner.
He stude still for till herkyn mair
And ay the langer quhill he wes thair
He herd it ner and ner cummand;
Bot he thair still thoucht he vald stand 100

Till that he herd mair taknyng,
For, for a hundis quhestlyng
He wald nocht walkyn his menʒhe.
Tharfor he walde abyde and se
Quhat folk thai war, and quhethir thai 105
Held toward him the richt way,
Or passyt ane othir way fer by.
The moyn wes schynand rycht cleirly;
[Sa lang he stude that he mycht her
The noyis of thaim that cummand wer; 110
Than his twa men in hy send he
To warne and walkyn his menʒe:
And thai ar furth thar wayis gane
And he left thar all hym allane]
And sua lang stude he herkynand 115
Till that he saw cum at his hand
The haill rowt in full gret hy'; &c.

Now, not only do the Edinburgh Ms. and Hart omit the asterisked lines altogether but they amend alike lines 84 and 93; bring them together; and at line 108 insert the passage (109—114) shewn within brackets, a change of narrative affecting the story itself. Professor Skeat's note is amazing. 'These lines (i. e. 109—114) are a corrupt repetition of ll. 85—92. The Cambridge Ms. rightly omits them'. He surely for the moment forgot that the Cambridge Ms. was written by the scribe who wrote the Edinburgh Ms. and that the latter was two years later in date. A corruption it certainly is not. But the manuscripts explain themselves. In 1487 John Ramsay penned the lines as they are found in the Cambridge Ms.: in 1489 he deliberately deleted them, amended the place, and a little further on in the story substituted the passage preserved by the Edinburgh Ms. Precisely the same emendation he made at some other time in the Ms. from which Hart's edition is derived. Had the relation of the two Mss. been perceived, the Edinburgh and Hart passage surely would not have been printed *in gremio* of the Cambridge text, where it is incongruous and destructive of the sense, but would have been recorded only in the footnotes as a later variant. An editor might as well attempt to print as one narrative Fitzgerald's three draughts of Omar Khayyám's *Rubáiyát.*

The lines we have just examined demonstrate that the Cambridge Ms. was, after 1487, deliberately edited: but the

one thing still to be ascertained — which cannot be discovered through that passage — is, whether Hart's edition is derived from a Ms. transcribed between 1487 and 1489, or from one posterior in date to 1489.

§ II. Let us look at some of the passages common to the Cambridge Ms. and to Hart, but awanting in the Edinburgh Ms. These, generally speaking, as they stand in the earliest text, are to be classed as the most faulty specimens of versification in *The Bruce.* That Ramsay should have omitted them when he came to revise the poem in 1489 is not to be wondered at; the remarkable thing is that he should have tinkered at them subsequently and considered them good enough to be restored to the narrative. Take for example Book IX ll. 374—377

And in a myrk nycht syne is went
* Toward the toun with his menȝe 374*
* Bot hors and knafis all left he
* Fer fra the toun, and syne has tane
* Thair ledderis: and on fute ar gane 377*
Toward the toune all preuely;
Thai herd no wachis spek no cry.

The omission of the four asterisked lines is another distinct improvement one would think; but apparently Ramsay thought otherwise for they are in Hart with only a slight emendation of line 374 —

And hors and knafis all leaved he

and of line 377 —

His ladders: and on fut ar gane.

Another passage in B. XV ll. 333—345 is more interesting —

Schir Adam of Gordoune that than
Wes becummyne a Scottis man
Saw thame swa drif away thar fe 335
And wend thei had beyn quheyn, for he
* Saw bot the fleand scaill perfay
* And thame that sesyt in the pray.
* Than till schir James of Douglass
* In-to gret hye the way he tais,
* And tald how Ynglis men thair pray
* Had tane, and syne went thar way
* Toward Berwik with all thar fee,
* And said, thai quheyn war; and gif he

Wald speid him he suld weill lichtly
Wyn thame and reskew all the ky.
* Schir James rycht soyne gaf his assent
* Til follow thame, and furth is went
* Bot with the men that he had thair
* And met hym by the gat but mair.
* Thai followit thame in full gret hy
* And com weill neir thame hastely:
* For, or thai mycht thame fully se
* Thai come weill neir with thair menȝe.
* And than bath the forreouris and the scaill
* In till a childrome knyt all haill
* And wes a richt fair cumpany
* Before thame gert thai driff the ky,
With knavis and swanys, that na mycht 355*
Had for till stand in feild to ficht.
The laiff behynd thame made a scaill. 341
The Dowglass saw thair purpose haill
And saw thame of sa gud cowyne
And at thai war sa mony syne
That ay for ane of his war twa.'

The versification, on account of the repeated rimes, is extremely defective here also, and the omission of the asterisked lines from the Edinburgh Ms. seems judicious. Ramsay, however, restored them, deleting lines 347 and 348, and transposing lines 355*—340, thus —

'But knaves and swaines that had na might
For to stand into field to fight
Before them gart they drive the ky
They were a right faire company.'

Line 341 he also improved as follows —

'And all togidder in a staill'

and one notes the significant agreement between Hart and the Edinburgh Ms. in line 342, namely,

'The Dowglass saw thair lump all haill'

where *lump* in the sense of *crowd* or *company* is used instead of *purpose* — a word found also in Book XIX l. 377 in all three versions —

'Emang the lump of Inglis men.'

But the whole passage deserves to be noticed for other reasons. Is it not rather remarkable to find the poet copying for this Douglas raid a similar episode told at length in *The*

Alexander at the beginning of the *Forray of Gadderis*? In *The Bruce* the forrayers are

'a gret cumpany
of wicht men armyt jolely'

in the *Alexander*

'All the men of that cuntre
Raid with hors armit jolely
To keip thair cattell and thair ky.
Thus think thay throuch thair cheualrie
Sa stoutly to defend thair fee.'

He even borrows one identical line and renders another almost identically, vizt. —

'And till his menȝe can he say' B. XV 471; A. 7. 8.
'Thair fayis tak on thame the flicht' B. XVI 501.
'Thair fais the flicht upone thame tais.' A. 385. 31.

One notices also among other things that the forrayers in *The Bruce* form a 'childrome', while in the *Alexander* the formation is identical, namely 'a sop' or 'round compact troop of men', the drivers of the cattle in the one poem being spoken of as 'knavis and swayns', in the other as 'hirdis'.

I pass over the 37 lines common to the Edinburgh Ms. and Hart, but awanting in the Cambridge Ms., merely remarking that in every instance they are admirably fitted into the context without the slightest disturbance either of the narrative or the rime. But one must advert briefly to the 51 lines peculiar to Hart as these are important in the present discussion. As an example I choose the lines in Book XII 209. 212 —

'Quhen the king herd thaim so manly
Spek to the ficht and hardely,
* [Saying that nouther life nor dead 209
* To sik discomfort sould them lead
* That thay sould eschew the fechting,
* In hert he had great rejoycing;]
In hert gret gladschip can he ta.'

The passage as it stands, it will be observed, is marred by the last line which Professor Skeat retains from the Cambridge text. It is the same in the Edinburgh Ms. But it is plain that Hart exhibits the latest stage of editing; for, in adding the asterisked lines, the defect has been greatly modified by the emendation —

'And to him gret glaidship can ta.'

We have already seen the use made of *The Alexander* in the composing of one of the speeches of King Robert. Another Hart addition (XIII 131) shews a striving after literary effect in the same direction. The passage is the well known address by Bruce on the field of Bannockburn where he bids his men be of good courage and 'ding' on the enemy 'so hardely' —

* 'That they may feele at our cumming
* That we them hate in mekle thing,' &c.

fourteen lines that one would be sorry to see deleted from the poem.

But undoubtedly the great interest of the Hart additions centres in twelve lines relating to the carrying of Bruce's heart to the Holy War by Sir James Douglas. They occur in Book XX 421 —

'Bot ere they joynéd in battell
What Douglas did I sall you tell.
The Bruce's Heart that on his brest
Was hinging, in the field he kest
Vpon a stane-cast and well more:
And said, 'now passe thou foorth before
As thou wast wont in field to be
And I sall follow or els de.'
And sa he did withoutten ho,
He fought euen while he came it to,
And tooke it up in great daintie;
And euer in field this used he.'[1]

By Pinkerton & Jamieson they were accepted as genuine. So too in both the E. E. T. Society and the S. T. Society editions of *The Bruce* they are printed in the text, Professor Skeat adding the note — 'It is somewhat strange that these lines, no doubt genuine, are omitted in both Mss. However, as Jamieson points out, the sense of the passage is preserved in Holland's poem called *The Howlat* written about 80 years after *The Bruce*. See line 486 below, which almost presupposes some special mention of the heart in this place.' But when

[1] As already mentioned Hart's edition is throughout considerably modernised as regards the orthography. I leave the passage in its modernised form.

the preface to the S. T. Society edition came to be written the editorial opinion had undergone a change. At page lxxvii we are informed that the lines 'cannot be considered genuine as inadvertently said in the note to line 421, for Barbour never rimes *be* with *de*, (correctly *dey*)' and in the Errata further intimation is given to the effect that 'the statement that these lines are genuine is a mistake'.

Dr. David Laing in his edition of *The Howlat* remarked that 'lines might be quoted with which there is too close a similarity' to lead us to suppose that the agreement with *The Bruce* is 'merely accidental'. Dr. Jamieson also entertained the belief that Holland was acquainted with Barbour's poem; and he appears to have regarded it and *The Howlat* as mutually corroborative of the biographical facts. But the latest editor, M. Amours, whose scholarly editing is deserving of unstinted praise, reaches another conclusion. 'Instead' he says, 'of Barbour and Holland corroborating each other as to the genuineness of the episode, as suggested by Jamieson, it is almost certain that the lines were interpolated in some Mss. of *The Bruce* after *The Howlat* had made known for the first time an incident so strange yet so truly in keeping with the whole character of the expedition and of its hero.'

With the conclusion of Professor Skeat and M. Amours I agree, although on slightly different grounds. The fact that the twelve lines are found only in Hart's edition no doubt weighed with the editors and rendered rejection all the easier. But apart altogether from such consideration the whole incident decidedly looks as if it had been fitted into the narrative as an afterthought, its similarity to the *Howlat* besides, being much too striking to be explainable merely as a coincidence. I should hesitate however to reject the lines on the rimes alone. The *be*, *de*, test it seems to me is quite untrustworthy: while the objection to *battell*, *tell*, may easily be disposed of by correcting the spelling to *battale*, and slightly altering the phrase 'I yow sal tell' to 'I yow tel sall' for which the *Howlat* is sufficient authority.

But mere comparison of *The Bruce* and *The Howlat* is not enough; a wider enquiry is necessary before any definitive pronouncement is possible. From Wyntoun, Bower and the *Book of Pluscarden* we know that in the authentic text of

Barbour the expedition to the Holy Sepulchre was, as one should expect, narrated;[1] and in the *Howlat* itself (ll. 395

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[1] Wyntoun says —

> 'And gud Jamys of Dowglas
> Hys hart tuk, as fyrst ordanyd was
> For to bere in the Holy Land,
> How that that wes tane on hand
> Well proportis Brwsys Buk
> Quhay will tharoff the matter luke.'
>
> *Book VIII ch. XXIII 3121. 3126.*

In Bower's *Scotichronicon* we read 'Hujus incliti regis Roberti universas laudes congerere, diutinosque labores, insidias et taedia, persecutiones et discrimina et bellorum opiniones perstringere, si quis in uno volumine Latini contenderet, etiam si sciret, moram cum taedio legentibus generaret. Lectorem igitur, qui de ejus admirandis, probitatibus et gestis bellicis saginari desiderat, ad librum Broisaicum, quem in materna lingua pulchrè et prosaicè edidit Barbarius, remitto'. *Lib.* XIII cap. XVI. M. Amours in an interesting note to the *Howlat* (l. 471) observes that 'four chroniclers intervene between Barbour and Holland. Fordun (before 1387) notes simply that Douglas was killed on 25th August 1330 while fighting with the King of Spain against the Saracens (*Gesta Annalia* cxliv). Froissart (c. 1400) is the first to state that King Robert requested that his heart should be 'presented' to the Holy Sepulchre where our Lord was buried. As the French chronicler had travelled in Scotland during his youth and had known some of the Douglases little more than thirty years after the death of Sir James are we entitled to see in his testimony an early trace of a family tradition that was to be fully developed in Holland's poem? Wyntoun (c. 1420) dismissed the whole story in six lines referring to the Bruce's book for details. Bower who died in 1449 just before the *Howlat* was written adds another touch to the story. According to him the King ordered that his heart should be taken to Jerusalem and *buried* at the Holy Sepulchre (*Lib.* XIII cap. XX). In the following chapter the last battle of the Douglas is described in terms that tally on the whole with Barbour's account. I shall quote the first lines of it that they may be compared with the statement of the next chronicler in order of time — 'Rex Hispaniae, cum nobili Jacobo de Douglas, ferente secum cor regis Roberti, septimo Kal. Septembris, congregatis exercitibus de diversis mundi partibus in subsidium Terrae Sanctae confluentibus, debellaverunt Soldanum et Saracenos suos innumeros. Quibus tanden feliciter devictis * * * dictus rex cum suo exercitu rediit incolumis à conflictu, sed proh dolor!' &c. ending with 'Cujus actus strenuos liber continet Barbarii Broisaicus'. Bower's phraseology is ambiguous, but he doubtless meant that the battle was fought in Spain. Now here is the version of the same event as it appears in the *Liber Pluscardensis*, a compilation avowedly based on Bower's Scotichronicon and written about 1462 'Interim autem rex Hispaniae, in

and 507) there may even be passing allusion to *The Bruce.* In determining the question it will be necessary to consider *The Bruce* in relation not merely to Holland's poem and the native chronicles just named, but likewise to the Flemish chronicles of Jean le Bel, Canon of Liège, and Jean Froissart. The work of Jean le Bel — *Les Vrayes Chroníques* — covers the period from 1326 to 1361. The author, before taking holy orders, had served as a soldier among the Hainault auxiliaries in the army of Edward III in the campaign of 1327 against the Scots. A considerable portion of his history, including the chapters relating to the northern war of 1327; the story of the death of King Robert the Bruce; and the Douglas expedition with the heart of the king, were appropriated by Froissart who, in the beginning of his career, seems to have felt no reluctance to shine with a borrowed light. All that the later chronicler does is to soften the asperities in the narrative of his predecessor or to add here and there a few geographical and historical touches. Our concern at present, however, is only with those chapters that relate to Scottish affairs anterior to 1330. In both chronicles the grave error occurs of naming Sir James Douglas as William.[1] But in certain particulars Froissart amplifies his original.

In chapters XLVII and XLVIII, relating the death of the King, and the Douglas Expedition, he mentions, for example, among other things (1) that the King was buried at Dunfermline, (2) that Douglas sailed from Montrose journeying to Spain

Sanctam Terram pergens, nobilem Jacobum de Douglas secum traduxit. Qui rex invictus, multis adeptis victoriis, ad propria incolumis revertitur * * *. Qui amplius de hac materia scire desiderant ad legendam dicti excellentissimi principis in nostro vulgari compositam transeat, ubi ad longum reperiet'. If this is meant for a summary of Bower's words, it is evident that the anonymous compiler did not understand his author and had never read Barbour's book. But between the completion of Bower's work and the writing of the *Book of Pluscardine* the *Howlat* had been written and we have here an attempt at combining different authorities. I believe that 'the legend composed in our vernacular' refers to the *Howlat* and not to *The Bruce*.' *Howlat* p. 229.

[1] In many modern editions of Froissart the error is silently corrected. In the Mss., however, the Scottish knight is erroneously named *Guillaume*. 'Froissart se trompe sur le nom de ce capitaine: les historiens Anglois l'appellent, avec raison, Jacques de Douglas.' Froissart, note by Buchon p. 80.

via Sluys in Flanders and (3) that the King of Spain was Alphonso.[1]

Now, when the Bruce is carefully examined the agreement with Froissart is remarkable indeed. The points of difference to be noted at present are these: — in *The Bruce* (1) King Robert is said to have died at Cardross, (2) Berwick is named as the port from which Douglas sailed from Scotland, (3) the touching at Sluys is entirely passed over: and (4) Douglas is said to have landed in Spain not at Valence le grand, as stated by Jean le Bel and Froissart, but at Sebell the Graunt — that is Seville. Whether Douglas voyaged from Montrose or Berwick and landed at Valence-le-Grand or at Seville cannot be determined: all records with the exception of the two Flemish chronicles and *The Bruce* are silent on the point. It is beyond dispute that Seville in the second half of the 15th century 'was the resort especially of the merchants of Flanders with whom a more intimate intercourse had been opened by the intermarriages of the royal Family with the house of Burgundy';[2] and an Editor like Ramsay, knowing that fact, and finding the statement in Froissart that Douglas sailed from Sluys[3] for Spain, might readily seek to improve on his author by substituting Seville for Valencia. In the same way Berwick may have been preferred to Montrose, considering the geographical situation of the Douglas possessions. Be that as it may, the points of divergence between Froissart and *The Bruce* are unimportant in comparison with the points of contact. When both narratives are collated it is not possible to believe them to be independent; and the question that forces itself on the textual critic is, — Whence did the Scottish poet obtain his information? Let us take these few examples —

Froissart, ch. XLVII : XLVIII.[4]	*The Bruce* — B. XX l. 150.
'le roi Robert d'Ecosse, * * * etoit devenu vieux et foible et si chargé	The King till Cardross went in hy; And thar hym tuk sa felonly

[1] Froissart. 'Il entendit que le roi Alphonse d'Espagne' ch. XLVIII; and in *The Bruce* 'The king Alphons him eftre send' B. XX l. 338.

[2] Prescott p. 493 note. Valence disappears in Froissart's third redaction, Douglas being said to journey from Sluys *à la Calongne en Galise.*

[3] For his intimate knowledge of Sluys cf. *The Wallace* B. IX 650. Voyaging to the Continent is in that poem generally to the Flemish port.

[4] I follow the numbering of chapters in Buchon's edition of Froissart. In the English translations of Lord Berners and Johnes the chapters are

de la grosse maladie * * * Quand il sentit et connut que mourir lui convenoit, il manda tous les barons de son royaume ès quels il se fioit le plus par devant lui': * * Vous savez que j'ai eu moult à faire et à souffrir en mon temps que j'ai vécu, pour soutenir les droits de cettui royaume; et, quand j'eus le plus à faire, je fis un voeu que je n'ai point accompli, dont moult me pèse; je vouai que s'il étoit ainsi que je passe tant faire que je visse ma guerre achevée, par quoi je pusse cettui royaume gouverner en paix, j'irois aider à guerroyer les enemis notre seigneur et les contraires de la foi chrétienne, à mon loyal pouvoir. A ce point a toujours mon coeur tendu; mais notre seigneur ne l'a mie voulu consentir: si m'a donné tant à faire en mon temps, et au dernier suis entrepris si gravement de si grande maladie qu'il me convient mourir, si comme vous voyez; et puis qu'il est ainsi que le corps de moi n'y peut aller, ni achever ce que le coeur a tant désiré, j'y veux envoyer mon coeur en lieu du corps, pour mon voeu achever * * * tant de vous et de votre noblesse et de votre loyauté, que si vous l'entreprennez vous n'en faudrez aucunement * * *

His seknes,[1] and him travaylt swa
That he wist him behufit ma
Of all this liff the commoune end, 155
That is the ded, quhen God will send.
Tharfor his lettres soyne send he
For the lordis of his cuntre,
And thai com as he biddyn had.
* * * * *
'Lordingis,' he said, 'swa is it gane
With me, that thar is nocht bot ane
That is, the ded, withouten dreid
That ilk man mon thole on neid.
And I thank God that hass me sent
Spass in this liff me till repent.
For throu me and my warraying
Of blud thar hass beyne gret spilling,
Quhar mony sakless man wes slayne; 175
Tharfor this sekness and this payne
I tuk in thank for my trespass.
And my hert fyschit fermly wass
Quhen I was in prosperite,
Of my synnis till savit be, 180
To travell apon Goddis fayis.
And sen he now me till hym tais
That the body may on na viss
Fulfill that the hert can deuiss
I wald the hert war thidder sent 185
Quhar-in consauit wes that entent.
* * * *

(The king on learning that Douglas is preferred for the enterprise by the Barons, says)
'Sa God himself me saff
I hald me richt weill payit, that ȝhe
Hass chosyn hym: for his bounte.
For certes it hes bene my ȝarnyng
Ay sen I thoucht till do this thyng
That he mine heart sould with him bere
* * * *

different, both translators having frequently included in one chapter a group of short chapters in the original. Fortunately however it is not very difficult to find the corresponding places of the original when comparison is necessary.

[1] The king's sickness, at line 75, is referred to as his 'mail eiss'.

Tous ceux qui là étoient commencèrent à pleurer moult tendrement; et quand le dit messire Jacques put parler, il repondit et dit ainsi: —	Than war thair hertis all so wa 196 That nane mycht half hym fra greting * * * * And quhen the gud lord of Douglas Wist at the Kyng so spokyn hass He com and knelit to the kyng And on this viss maid him thanking.
'Gentil et noble sire, cent mille mercis de la grand 'honneur que vous me faites, que vous de si noble et si grand' chose et tel trésor me chargez et me recommandez, et je le ferai volontiers et de clair coeur votre commandement, à mon loyal pouvoir. Jamais n'en doutez combien que je ne suis mie digne ni suffisant pour telle chose achever.' —	'I thank ȝow gretly, lorde,' said he, 'Of mony large and gret bounte That ȝhe haf done till me feill siss 225 Sen first I come to ȝour seruiss. But our all thing I mak thanking That ȝhe so digne and worthy thing As your hert, that illwmynyt wes Of all bounte and worthynes, 230 Will that I in my ȝeemsell tak. For ȝow, schir, will I blithly mak This travell, gif god will me gif Laser and space so lange till liff.'
'Ah! gentil chevalier,' dit adonc le roi, 'grand merci, mais que vous le me créantez comme bon chevalier et loyal * * *	The Kyng hym thankit tendirly 235 Thar wes nane in that cumpany That thai ne wepit for pité.
Assez tôt après trépassa de ce siècle le preux Robert de Bruce roi d'Eccosse, et fut enseveli si honorablement que à lui appartenoit, selon l'usage du pays; et fut le coeur ôté et embaumé, ainsi que commandé l'avoit. *Si git le dessusdit roi en l'abbaye de Donfremelin en Écosse tres révéremment* * * *	[*The King being dead*] 'he debowalit was clenly 285 And bawlmyt syne full richely. * * * * Thai haue him had till Dunfermline 291 And hym solempnly erdit syne.
Il monta sur mer *au port de Montrose en Écosse* * * * Et avoit en sa compagnie un chevalier banneret et six autres chevaliers des plus preux de son pays'. &c.	[*Douglas goes on his voyage*] To schip till Berwik is he gane: And with ane nobill cumpany Of knychtis and of squyary 320 He put him thar in-to the se.

Where then, we ask, did the Scottish poet obtain that particular account of the death of the king?

(1) From some Manuscript in the possession of the Douglas family? Any such supposition is in the highest degree improbable for *The Bruce* narrative as every one can see, agrees

as regards the dialogue with the account given by Jean le Bel, who as an adherent of the English, could not have had access to any such source. Grave errors like the naming of Sir James Douglas as William and the recording of the marriage of the young Prince David among events subsequent to the death of King Robert plainly shew that *Les Vrayes Chroniques* was compiled, as was Froissart's *Chronicles*, where not copied from Jean le Bel, from statements made by 'ancient knights and squires' whose knowledge of the facts they related was often very far from accurate. No such native chronicle is ever mentioned by any Scottish writer.

(2) From *Les Vrayes Chroniques* of Jean le Bel? That chronicle having been completed some twelve or fourteen years earlier than *The Bruce*, it is of course possible that Barbour might have seen it: but that also is improbable. In the first place a Flemish chronicle was not likely to be known in Scotland so soon after its completion. Secondly, Jean le Bel's work seems never to have been a far travelled book. Froissart who cites it as one of his sources, found a copy at Beaumont in the library of his patron Guy de Blois, supposed to have been transcribed for Guy's grandfather Jean de Beaumont, of whom the Canon of Liege was *moult ami et secret.* Its extreme rarity is evidenced by the fact that it eluded all bibliographers for centuries, until in 1847 the unique copy, now preserved in the library at Chalons-sur-Marne was discovered by M. Paulin Paris.[1] It will be possible to shew when we come to discuss Froissart's *Chronicles* that *Les Vrayes Chroniques* must fall to be excluded.

(3) From Holland's poem *The Howlat*? As we have seen the opinion of Jamieson, Laing, Skeat and Amours is that

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[1] L'oeuvre même était perdue depuis des siècles, lorsqu'en 1847 M. Polain, érudit belge, en découvrit les premiers chapitres incorporés dans l'immense chronique de Jean d'Outremeuse. Quartorze ans plus tard, un jeune élève de l'École des Chartres, qu'il dirige à présent, M. Paul Meyer, trouva dans la bibliothèque de Châlons-sur-Marne un manuscrit in folio sans nom d'auteur et catalogué sous le titre 'Histoire vraye et notable des nouvelles guerres et choses avenues depuis l'an 1326 jusqu'en l'an 1361 en France et Anglettere &c.' M. Paulin Paris, à qui la trouvaille fut annoncée n'hésita pas, sur les renseignments qui lui furent communiqués, à reconnaître l'oeuvre de Jean le Bel. Darmesteter p. 154.

Holland must have been acquainted with *The Bruce*, the similarity of many lines in the *Howlat* being too close to be merely accidental; but both Skeat and Amours it will be remembered agree in rejecting a passage closely related to the *Howlat* found in one redaction of *The Bruce*, on the ground that it is an interpolation. My own opinion is that Mr. Amours comes very near the truth when he says that the lines in question were most likely interpolated after the *Howlat* had made known for the first time the strange episode of the 'slinging' of the casket among the Saracens: but I do not agree in thinking that Holland was, in the first instance, indebted to *The Bruce* for any part of his account of the deathbed scene. On the contrary it appears to me more probable that Holland borrowed from Froissart and that John Ramsay, who knew the *Howlat* well, as *The Wallace* shews, went to the same French chronicle for not a few of the embellishments which he engrafted on the work of his predecessor John Barbour, taking from the *Howlat* only the 'strange incident' that Holland, as a 'familiar' of the Douglases, may have known as a family tradition.[1] Holland's allusions to Barbour's poem, assuming them to be such,[2] are at most citations in a Douglas poem of another well known work, celebrating at greater length the exploits of King Robert and his faithful friend the good Sir James Douglas: and no one need doubt that Holland and every other literary man in Scotland knew or had heard of the work of John Barbour. But they certainly do not prove that the narrative of Book XX of The Bruce as we now possess it, represents the authentic text of 1375. As I have remarked before, however, no comparison of the one poem with the other, will ever settle the question concerning the source of lines in *The Bruce*, and it seems needless therefore to discuss it now at any greater length.[3]

Or, (4) From *Les Chroniques* of Jean Froissart? I unhesitatingly affirm that that work is the source used by the

[1] The heart incident, I believe, is a graft on the third or latest redaction of *The Bruce*.

[2] Line 395 unquestionably refers to *The Bruce* but not to the heart incident at all: line 507 takes up the story after the heart incident, & probably refers to Froissarts *Chronicles*.

[3] It appears to me that the *Howlat* evidences quite independent knowledge of the Flemish chronicle.

Scottish poet. Fortunately we know precisely the extent of Froissart's borrowing from *Les Vrayes Chroniques* as well as the nature of his amplfications of the text. That being so, it is surely very significant to find Froissart's *Chronicles* and *The Bruce* exhibiting amplifications at identical points, vizt. the place of King Robert's sepulture, (2) the port of departure of Sir James Douglas and (3) the naming of Alphonso as King of Spain.[1] And as yet we are only dealing with two short chapters of the *Chronicles*. Any seeming disturbing element, and it is only seeming, occasioned by the general resemblance of The *Howlat* is easily dispelled by extending the examination of *The Bruce* and of Froissart's *Chronicles* a little further, to a point where Holland's poem ceases to have anything in common. If we turn for a little to Book XIX of *The Bruce*, embracing the period 1322—1327, we shall find that it also is directly derived, to a very considerable extent, from Froissart. Our extracts perhaps already err on the side of excessive length, but as it is important to settle, if possible, the point now being discussed I shall crave indulgence while I bring under review a few parallel passages hitherto unnoticed by editors of the Scottish poem.

From line 237 to the end of Book XIX we have a particular relation of the border campaign of 1327 quite unlike anything found in early native chronicles.[2] Its agreement with a group of chapters of the *Chronicles* is very striking. At the outset, one notes how Froissart by way of rendering more complete his account of the Scottish invasion, tells, in brief, of (1) the sojourn of Queen Isabel and Prince Edward of Windsor in France, (2) the marriage of Edward and Philippa of Hainault and (3) the coming of Sir John of Hainault with his Flemish men-at-arms to assist King Edward against the Scots (Chapters VIII : XVIII : XXX &c.[3]), and how in essence and in epitome we find these chapters in The Bruce at line 255 —

> 'That tyme Eduard of Carnavarane
> The King was ded and laid in lame;

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[1] Vide note supra p. 138.

[2] Vide note infra.

[3] I follow Buchon's edition of Froissart in the numbering of chapters everywhere.

And Eduard his sone that wes ȝyng
In Ingland crownyt wes for kyng,
And surname had of Wyndissoyr.
He had in France beyn of befor
With his moder dame Isabell,
And wes weddid, as I herd tell,
Till a ȝoung lady fair of face
That the erllis douchter wass
Of Hennaut; and of that cuntre
Broucht with him men of gret bounte,
Schir Johne of Hennaut was thar leder.' &c.

The marshalling of the English army at York and other minor incidents, might also deserve attention, but I pass at once to the description of the meeting of the two armies. Froissart and the Scottish poet are both alike in error in placing the Scottish army on the north bank and the English on the opposite side of the river Wear.[1]

Ch. XLI.

On sonna la trompette; chacun alla monter, et fit-on les bannières chevaucher, * * sans dérouter par montagnes * * * Et tant chevauchèrent en cette manière qu'ils vinrent entour midi si pres des Écossois qu'ils les virent clairement et les Écossois aussieux. Sitôt que les Ecossois les virent, ils sortirent de leurs logis tous à pied et ordonnèrent trois bonnes battailes franchement, sur le penchant de la montagne où ils étoient logés. Pardessous cette montagne couroit une rivière forte et roide * * * Et si avoient les Écossois leurs deux premières batailles établies sur deux croupes de montagnes, que l'on entend de la roche, là où l'on ne peut bonnement monter, ni ramper, pour eux assaillir * * * Un petit apres on commanda que les battailles allassent avant pardevers les enemis * * * Ce fut fait et ordonné pour voir si les ennemis se dérouteroient point, et pour voir comment ils se maintiendroient * *

B. XIX.

As thai war on this wiss spekand
Our ane hye ryg thai saw rydand
Toward thame evyn a battell braid,
Baneris displayit enew thai had. 310
* * * *
The Scottis men war than liand
On north half Wer toward Scotland
The daill wes strekit weill, I hicht.
On athir syde thar was ane hicht
Till the wattir doune, sum deill stay.
The Scottis men in gnd array, 320
On thair best wiss buskit ilkane,
Stude in the strynth that thai had tane,
And that wes fra the wattir of Wer
A quarter of ane myle weill ner.
Thai stude thar, battell till abyd.
And Yngliss men on athyr syd,
Com ridand dounward * * *
And send out archeris a thousand
* * * *
And bad thaim gang to bikkyr syne
The Scottis host in abandoune,
And luk if thai mycht dyng thame doune.
For mycht thai ger thame brek aray
Till haue thame at thar will thoucht thai.

[1] Bain III 168.

Both armies decline a pitched battle; and three days later the Scots 'als soyne as the nycht fallen was' made 'fyres in gret foysoune' and secretly withdrew to a better camping ground to —

En cet état furent-ils par trois jours * * * Or avint que le quatrième jour au matin que les Anglois avoient été logés là, ils regardèrent pardevers la montagne aux Écossois si ne virent nullui * * * Car ils s'en étoient partis à la mie-nuit * * * si envoyèrent tantôt gens à cheval * * * qui les trouvèrent * * * sur une montagne plus forte que celle de devant n'étoit, sur cette rivière meme, et étoient logés en un bois, pour être plus à repos et pour plus secrètement aller et venir quand ils voudroient. Sitot comme ils furent trouvés, on fit les Anglois déloger et traire cette part tout ordonnément * * droit à l'encontre d'eux.

'A park that halely
Wes enveronynt about with wall;
It wes neir full of treis all,
Bot a gret playn in-till it was;
Thiddir thoucht the lord Douglas
Be nychtyrtale thair host to bryng.
Tharfor forouten mair dwelling,
Thai bet thair fyres and maid thame mair
And syne all sammyn furth thai fair.
* * * *
Upon the wattir, and als neir
Till it as that thai forrouth weir.
And on the morn, quhen it wes day,
The Inglis host myssit away
The Scottis men, and had ferly,
And gert disçourrouris hastely
Prek to se quhar thai war away.
And by their fyres persauit thai,
That thai in the park of Wardale
Had gert herbery thar host all hail.
Tharfor thair host, but mair abaid,
Busket * * * *
And on othir half the wattir of Wer
Gert stent thair palȝeounys, als neir
As that befor stentit war thai.

Froissart says the armies remained opposite each other for eighteen days, and that 'the Scots would never come toward the English host, neither would the Englishmen go to them'.[1] The Scottish poet, on the other hand, always lauding his own side, reckons eight days only, during all which time

'Inglis men durst nocht assale
The Scottis men with playne battale
For strinth of erd that thai had ther.'

And he immediately adds these three lines almost literally translated from Froissart —

Toute-fois y avoit-il tous les jours gens escarmouchants d'une part et d'autre, et souvent des morts et de pris.

Thar was ilk day justyng of wer,
And scrymmyng maid full apertly,
And men tane on ather party.

[1] Vide Hailes' Annals, appendix; campaign of 1327.

The well known episode of the night attack on the English camp led by Douglas, comes next both in *The Bruce* and in Froissart. The Scottish poet says it happened on the ninth night, Froissart on the first night after the retreat to Weardale, otherwise the narrative is almost identical. —

La première nuit que les Anglois furent logés * * * messire Guillaume de Douglas * * * prit entour mie-nuit environ deux cents armures de fer et passa cette rivière, bien loin de leur ost, parquoi on ne s'en aperçut. Si se férit en l'ost des Anglois moult vaillamment * * Et en tua lui et sa compagnie, avant qu'ils cessassent, plus de trois cents * * * *[1] [*In M. Le Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove's edition* (*Vatican Ms., third redaction*) *the passage is continued thus*: — 'et commenchierent il et si compagnon à faire une grande envaïe et à coper et mehagnier gens et à abatre (car ce fus sus le point dou premier somme) et porterent grand damage à l'oost * * * et furent si près de la tente dou roi que il copèrent des cordas de sa tente.']

Quhill it fell, on the nynt day
The Lord Dowglass hass spyit a way,
How that he mycht about thame ryd,
And cum upon the ferrest syd.
And at evyn him purvayit he,
And tuk with him a gude menȝe,
Fyve hundreth on horss, wes richt hardy
And in the nycht, all preuely,
Forout noyis so fer he raid,
Quhill that he neir enveremyt had
Thar host, and on the ferrer syd
Toward thame slely can he ryd,
* * * *
Toward thair fais fast thai raid,
That on that syd no wachis had.
* * * *
With that with all his cumpany
He rushit on thame hardely,
* * * *
Thai stekit men dispituisly.
* * * *
A felloun slauchtir maid thai thair
That thai that liand naket war,
Hed na power defens to ma.[1]

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[1] In Lord Berners' translation of Froissart it is said that Douglas with 200 men-at-arms broke into the English camp and 'slew or he ceased 300 men, *some in their beds and some scant ready*', penetrating even to the king's pavilion, the cords of which he cut, slaying also the royal chaplain. It has generally been supposed that Berners translated from the *editio princeps* of Vèrard, printed at Paris c. 1495: that however must be a mistake. Neither in that edition nor in the editions of 1497 or 1505 is there anything corresponding to the words *some in their beds and some scant ready*; but it is surely important to note the significant agreement between Berners and *The Bruce* —

A felloun slauchtir maid thai thair
That thai that liand nakit war
Had na power defens to ma.

M. Luce in his critical edition of Froissart does not record this variant. It does not occur in Buchon's text, but seems to be one of the minor

The narrative of The Bruce from this point differs considerably from that of Froissart, nevertheless it is still possible to trace the use made of the *Chronicles*. The Scots being hard pressed for food, Douglas proposes that they should strike tents and steal away in order to avoid any encounter with an enemy daily receiving reinforcements. According to the poet, Sir

touches so frequently met with in Mss. later in date than 1376. It does not occur in Johnes' translation. I have not been able as yet to identify the particular Ms. used by Ramsay & Berners. *Vide* Lettenhove.

It is most noteworthy also that Ramsay in composing *The Wallace* uses the same passage of Froissart for the fictitious night attack by Earl Malcolm and Wallace on the camp of King Edward (B. X 631). Instead of the royal chaplain it is Edward's standard bearer that is slain —

On Eduardis ost thai set ful sodandly:
Wallace and his maid litill noise or cry
Bot occupyd with wapynnys in that stour;
Feill fallen war ded that was with out armour,
All dysarayit the Inglis ost was than:
Amang palyonnis the Scottis, quhar mony man
Cuttyt cordis, gart mony tentis fall.
* * * * *
Wallace and his so rudly throw thaim yeid,
Towart the King, * * * *
The worthy Scottis agayn him in that stour,
Feill Sotheroun slew in to thair fyn armour;
So forthwartlye thai pressyt in the thrang
Befor the king * * * *
Then ferdly fled full mony Sotheroun syr.
The King Edward, that yeit was fechtand still
Has seyn thaim fle, that likit him full ill;
The worthi Scottis fast towart him thai press,
Hys brydyll ner assayit or thai wnld cess.
His bannerman Wallace slew in that place.

A little further on (B. X 762) the poet remembers Bruce's dying charge to Douglas, as narrated by Froissart, and adapts it for Wallace's valedictory words to his compatriots —

The lordis he cald and his will schawit thaim son,
Gud men, he said, I was your gouernour;
My mynd was set to do yow ay honour,
And for to bring this realme to rychtwysnes,
For it I passit in mony paynful place.
To wyn our awin, myself I neuir spard, &c.

We shall see also how Ramsay uses the *Alexander* in composing *The Wallace*. *Vide* Postscript.

James related to the Earl of Moray the story of the Fox and the Fisher and advises that thay should treat the English as the fox treated the fisherman. The fable is an excellent embellishment. The Scots having 'turst harnass all priuely' make up great camp fires and blow horns in order to lead the English to suppose the camp to be more than usually vigilant, and under cover of night steal away across a wide moss and make for Scotland. The English next morning, astonished at finding the enemy away and being unable to cross the morass with heavy baggage, resolve to abandon pursuit and to return South. Froissart's version is that on a certain day the English learning from a prisoner that the Scots that same night were under order to be ready armed to follow Douglas in a secret enterprise, resolved to remain all night in battle array; and that the retreat of the enemy was not discovered till daybreak when two trumpeters, left behind by the Scots, were brought into camp by the scout-watch. He mentions the difficulty of pursuit as the reason for the campaign being abandoned.

Now, although there is nothing in the poem about trumpeters being left behind, there are two lines that in all probability were suggested by the incident in Froissart. 'Once away from the camp,' says Douglas, and we shall be 'at our will', while the English —

> 'sall let thame trwmpit ill
> Fra thai wit weill we be away,'

in other words the English will be deceived. The word 'trwmpit' occurs nowhere else in *The Bruce* in the sense of *tromper* and it looks far fetched and uncommonly like a play on the word *trompeur*, — 'Quand ce vint sur le point du jour, deux trompeurs d'Écosse arrivèrent' &c. At any rate it is easy to produce other lines from the same incident which have their parallel in the *Chronicles*. I select the following as examples: —

Et quand les Ecossois aperçurent que les Anglois se logeoient * firent tantôt tant de feux que merveilles étoit à regarder; et firent entre nuit et jour si grand bruit de corner de leurs grands cors tout à une fois, et de crier après tout à une voix &c.	'and quhen the nycht wes ner, The Scottis folk that lyand war In-till the park, maid fest and far, 730 And blew hornys and fyres maid, And gert thame byrn bath bricht and braid, Swa that thair fyres that nycht war mair Than ony tyme before thin war.'

Et puis revinrent en l'ost si à point que chacun se délogeoit et ordonnoit pour raller en Angleterre, par l'accord du roi et de tout son conseil.	Quhen Ynglis men herd it wes sua, In hy till consale can thai ta, That thai wald follow thaim no mar. Thair host richt than thai scalit thar, And ilk man till his awn he raid.

It will, I think, be admitted that the parallel passages selected do not present merely that general similarity which one expects in independent writers relating the same scenes and events. They exhibit much more than that. There is indeed in several of them a circumstantial identity extending both to substance and expression, an identity all the more remarkable when due regard is had to the fact that the poet after translating the prose original had to face the considerable task of rendering it into verse. The marvel is that he was able to keep so close as he did to his author. No doubt one sees him sometimes striving to refashion parts of the story, but that surely need not surprise us when we consider that the account of the 1327 campaign was originally the work of an enemy of the Scots, merely retouched in certain minor details by Froissart. It was natural that a Scot, recounting the achievements of Bruce and Douglas, should wish at certain points to tell the story in his own way. Much in the *Chronicles* was unsuitable for his purpose and a certain degree of combination and rearrangement could scarcely be avoided. Besides, to a critical reader it is obvious that the changes, for the most part, are made solely for the purpose of increasing the renown of the good Sir James.

The indebtedness of *The Bruce* to Froissart's *Chronicles* is, I submit, indisputable. We know that John Barbour finished his poem about 1375; his colophon is clear and precise on the point. In 1376 or 1377 he received ten pounds by the king's command 'probably for his poem of *The Bruce*'; and in 1378 another royal grant of twenty shillings annually payable from the 'fermes' of Aberdeen. 'As this pension' says Professor Skeat, 'was bestowed very shortly after the completion of his great poem it is highly probable that it was conferred upon him on account of it. The actual mention of *The Bruce* in the account for 1428, and in later accounts, fairly bears out the assumption.' Such then is the well authenticated history of Barbour's work. What are the facts concerning Froissart

and his famous *Chronicles*? Briefly stated they are these. According to the best biographers he was born at Valenciennes c. 1338. At the age of twenty three he left his native Hainault for London whither he went to present to Queen Philippa a metrical account of the battle of Poitiers. The Queen received the manuscript graciously and appointed him one of her secretaries, encouraging him 'to pursue his literary work'. From 1362 until the death of Philippa the young secretary enjoyed royal patronage. During these years he travelled 'from town to town from castle. to castle' at the Queen's charges. In 1363 he was in Scotland and visited among other places Dalkeith where he met Earl Douglas. In 1366 he was in Castille but returned to London the year following. He visited Rome in 1369, where the news of the death of Philippa reached him — news that sadly blighted all his hopes. In 1370 he returned to Valenciennes. During the next two years he enjoyed the favour of Wenceslas of Brabant and Robert of Namur. In 1373 he was appointed Curè of Lestinnes-les-Monts by Guy of Beaumont who henceforth became his patron.

Up to this time Froissart's fame had rested mainly on his poetical works: he had however been diligently gathering materials for his history. In Lestinnes he entered with zeal on his great life work. The historical gleanings of eight years were there carefully arranged and there the Chronicles gradually took literary form.[1]

The critical study in recent years of Froissart's great work has shewn that during the author's lifetime there were three distinct redactions of the *Chronicles*: the first, brought down to the year 1372, completed c. 1376; the second, subsequent to 1376, originally undertaken it is supposed to please Guy of Beaumont; the third c. 1400. The third redaction is extremely interesting as evincing on the part of the chronicler in his old age, a strong desire to efface from Book I the many passages appropriated from Jean le Bel. It is extant in only one manuscript.[2]

Now it is certainly a curious coincidence that *The Bruce* and the *Chronicles* should have seen the light almost at the

[1] Darmesteter. See also an excellent account of Froissart in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (ninth edition).

[2] Lettenhove.

same point of time. Froissart's use of *Les Vrayes Chroniques* proves to demonstration that he borrowed nothing from Books XIX and XX of The Bruce. Are we then to be asked to believe that Barbour in far away Scotland obtained from the cure of Lestinnes advance sheets of certain of the Scottish chapters of the Chronicles? No surely. Criticism might better cease altogether were credulity allowed a hearing in such a question. I have printed in italics certain additions made by Froissart to *Les Vrayes Chroniques* and as these occur also in *The Bruce* it would manifestly be absurd for any one to contend that Barbour borrowed from Jean le Bel. But we can go further than this, for, one of the expansions in the Douglas camasade, found only in a few manuscripts exhibiting the author's later touches, belongs to that which is called by Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, the second redaction.[1] It could not have been quoted by Barbour in 1375 for it had not then been written by Froissart. In *The Bruce* however the identical allusion is literally rendered into the Scottish vernacular! It is difficult therefore to imagine proof more cogent or more conclusive for the proposition that the composer of a considerable portion of the poem, used not merely Froissart's *Chronicles* but an edition of that work representing the text of a date posterior even to 1376.

There are other considerations that would deserve attention were the proof less certain than it is but I shall merely allude to those in passing. In the first place, a huge work like the *Chronicles* must have been costly to transcribe and the earliest copies we may be sure would be made only for kings and nobles. It is not likely for that reason to have been, before 1400, freely circulating. In the present day it is doubtful if there are more than three XIVth century manuscripts of the work extant. In 1394 it was deemed by Froissart himself a fit gift to be offered to Queen Philippa's grandson, Richard II of England. At no time does it appear that there were in England many manuscripts of the history; and what is true of England applies equally to Scotland. In the second place, when copies, more or less abridged, came to be multiplied in the XVth century it is probable enough that some Scottish

[1] In the unique Vatican Ms., edited by Lettenhove, the expansion undergoes further revision.

library may have possessed one: it is indeed highly probable that William Schevez Archbishop of St. Andrews, himself a graduate of Louvain and a great bibliophile, may have been the happy owner of a Froissart: but be that as it may, it is certain that both Holland and Ramsay knew the work, had access to it, and used it as a literary source.

When so much can be established for late fifteenth century redaction of *The Bruce* it becomes important to note the fact that neither in Fordun, Wyntoun nor Bower is there the slightest appearance of knowledge of the details of the campaign of 1327.[1] As Fordun was a contemporary of Barbour it need not of course surprise us that the works of these authors should be quite independent of each other. Barbour might have gathered many things overlooked by Fordun. One should, however, expect Wyntoun, who knew *The Bruce* so well, at the very least to have mentioned the invasion: but he does not. And how comes it in a compilation like the *Scotichronicon*, an *omnium gatherum* of histories, that there are no details of that eventful campaign? Surely there, if anywhere, one would think, the stirring deeds of Earl Moray and Sir James Douglas, across the English border, should have been duly chronicled. The silence is indeed suspicious. My own opinion is that *The Bruce* as we now possess it, owes a good deal both in Books XIX and XX to the *Scotichronicon* and not, as has been hitherto supposed, the *Scotichronicon* to *The Bruce*. I commend a collation, for example, of Books XVIII, XIX and XX of the poem and Book XIII, (*inter alia*, chapters 1 and 4) of the *Scotichronicon* where parallels like these are not infrequent: —

Scotichronicon XIII ch. IV.	The Bruce XVIII l. 273.
Qui * * * urgente famis inediâ, et quia, propter maris intemperiem, de navibus non potuerunt Angli habere necessaria,	[*The ships being delayed by contrary winds the English commander sends foragers into Lothian.*]

[1] It first comes into a Scottish History in 1581 when George Buchanan published his well known work *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*. Buchanan narrates the 1327 campaign at length, deriving his information from the *Chronicles*, and citing Froissart as his author — At Frossardus Gallus, aequalis illorum temporum scriptor, tota ea expeditione secutos Anglum, affirmat; &c. B. VIII p. 255 (Edition Antony Schouten 1697). The narrative of the Campaign in the *Scalacronica* is meagre & could not possibly be the source of *The Bruce*. Fordun also is much too general.

ad propria rediit confusus. Unde, praeter propria carriagia, ad edendum non quaesierunt praeter unum claudum taurum, qui cum ceteris armentis amoveri non poterat; propter hujus conquestum perdiderunt militem cum suis. Unde quidam miles Angliae, Comes viz. de Waren, dicebat, quòd illius tauri caro erat nimis cara. Quo tunc apud carbon- arius de Tranent &c.

'Bot cattel haf thai fundyn nane,
Outane a kow that wes haltand,
That in Tranentis corne thai fand.
Thai broucht hir till thair hoost agane.
And quhen the erll of Warane
That cow saw anerly cum swa
He askit 'gif thai gat na ma'?
And thai haf said all till him, 'nay'
'Than certes' said he, 'I dar say
This is the derrest beiff that I
Saw evir ȝeit; for sekirly
It cost ane thousand pund and mar.'

John Ramsay's acquaintance with the *Scotichronicon* is unquestionable as one sees from many things in *The Wallace.* That he knew Book XIII intimately might perhaps fairly have been inferred from this fact alone, that in chapter 19 — in one of Bower's amusing digressions — we meet with the Latin lines that serve as a motto to the little poem engrossed among the Statutes of 1467 —

'Sede sedens ista judex inflexibilis sta' &c.

But the artificiality of Book XX of *The Bruce* is apparent apart altogether from any borrowing from Froissart. Two lines are lifted *verbatim* from the *Alexander*; and not less significant are other four lines occurring at the end of the Douglas eulogy. After telling how the bones of the good knight were brought from Spain and buried in the Kirk of Douglas, the poet adds, —

'Schir Arcibald his sone gert syne
Of alabast bath fair and fyne
Ordane a towme full richely
As it behufit till swa worthy.'

Professor Skeat's note on the passage is as follows: '*His sone.* So in the Mss. though it is a mistake of Barbour's. Some editions have turned *sone* into *brother* by way of correction. Douglas was never married; his natural son was named William. He was succeeded by his second brother Hugh, the ninth Lord Douglas, of whom liltle is known. The person intended is his third brother whom Hume of Godscroft calls 'Archibald Douglas Lord of Galloway, Governor of Scotland, third brother to Sir James' giving a long account of him. *Hist.* Douglas p. 53—62.'

The genealogy in that note is wrong from beginning to end. Sir William Fraser, the author of the *Book of Douglas* gives the true pedigree. 'In all previous Memoirs of Sir James Douglas,' he says, 'it has been assumed that he died unmarried and without leaving lawful issue. Although the name of his wife has not been ascertained, yet it appears that he was married as he left a son William who succeeded him as Lord of Douglas. He had also a natural son Archibald, surnamed the Grim, who became Lord of Galloway and afterwards succeeded as third Earl of Douglas on the death of his cousin James the Second Earl.' The evidence as to William Lord of Douglas seems to have been unknown to Godscroft. William was slain at Halidon Hill on 19th July 1333 and was succeeded by his uncle Hugh brother of Sir James. Hugh who was a churchman resigned the lands, which by royal charter were granted to William 1st Earl of Douglas, a younger son of Sir Archibald the Regent. William died in 1384 and was succeeded by James who perished at Otterburn in 1388. In the following year the succession of Archibald the Grim, the natural son of the good Sir James was ratified in full Parliament and from 1389 to 1400, when he died, he enjoyed the family lands and titles.

One sees therefore that there is no mistake in the text of *The Bruce*; simply the editors have been at fault in seeking to amend it.

In 1375 when Barbour wrote, the Earl of Douglas was William; and the monument over the grave of the good Sir James was as yet unbuilt. Let us hear Sir William Fraser the most competent witness that can be cited; he says, 'A monument erected to his [the good Sir James's] memory by his son Sir Archibald the Grim, Lord of Galloway, probably about the year 1390, after his succession as third Earl of Douglas, still exists in the Douglas aisle of the former church of St. Bride.' It may perhaps be contended that Sir Archibald, the natural son of Sir James, sometime before 1375 might have erected the monument over the grave of his father, but to any such assumption there is a good answer. In the first place it is bluntly stated in the *Liber Pluscardensis* that 'because Archibald Douglas was a bastard his friends held him cheap' (de quo, quia bastardus erat, modicum compotum tenuerunt

amici ejus) and in the second place, we know from the Parliamentary records that his succession was hotly disputed and only settled after a protracted contest eight months after the death of Earl James. It is besides improbable that the Lords of Douglas between 1330 and 1388 would allow a bastard to interfere with the family mausoleum. Even supposing the erection of the monument to have been the first act of Archibald after his succession opened, it is manifestly impossible that John Barbour could have recorded the fact in 1375. On the authority of *The Bruce* itself may we not say —

> 'And man is into dreding ay
> Of thingis that he has herd say,
> And namly of thingis to cum, quhill he
> Haue of the end the certanté.
> And sen thai ar in sic venyng,
> Forouten certane vitting,
> Me think, quha sais he knawis thingis
> To cum, he makis gret gabbingis.'

Conclusion.

How much of *The Bruce* is early, how much comparatively late, may perhaps some day be ascertained by a wider enquiry: but even if it be never possible to shew 'the precise points at which new filaments or dependencies of the texture begin' the passages to which attention has been directed prove beyond all doubt that the poem, hitherto assumed to have been composed in 1375, is to a considerable extent, of composite origin, a work deliberately revised in the fifteenth century by an editor who embellished his original and strove with all the skill at his command to bring it into harmony with his own conception of the higher canons of art.

POSTSCRIPT.

On June 22nd. 1900, while the foregoing pages were passing through the press, my friend, Mr. George Neilson, read a paper at a meeting of the Philological Society, London, entitled *John Barbour, Poet and Translator,* with the object of proving Barbour to be the author of (1) *The Troy Book* (Fragment), (2) a collection of *Legends of the Saints*; and (3) the Scottish *Alexander* translation of 1438. The *Troy Book* and *Legends* had been claimed for Barbour more than once by certain literary critics, and rejected, chiefly on rime tests, by others; the *Alexander* had not before been brought into the discussion. The argument for unity of authorship, advanced by Mr. Neilson, is based mainly on parallel passages — on what he calls "the tremendous array of identical lines and phrases" found in the *Bruce, Alexander, Troy Book*[1] and *Legends*[2].

The relation of the *Bruce* and *Alexander*, fully discussed in an earlier chapter, will, I believe, be acknowledged by every one as indisputable. But can the same be said as to the relation of the *Troy Book* and *Legends* to the *Bruce* and *Alexander*? It will be well at the outset to answer that question. Among "the manifold parallel passages" of the *Bruce* and *Alexander* adduced by Mr. Neilson, there are also "occasional illustrative passages" carefully selected, from the *Troy Book* and *Legends,* ostensibly "with a view of now and then furnishing to the disbelievers in the unity of authorship additional material for the admiration they must naturally feel for the deftness in imitation of language matter and style

[1] Legendensammlung, Horstmann, 1881.

[2] Ibid.: also Legends of the Saints, S. T. Society, edited by the Rev. Dr. W. M. Metcalf, 1896.

attained by the phenomenal literary workman or workmen who achieved the *Alexander* and told or retold the tales of Troy and of the Saints." The gentle irony of that sentence seems to anticipate that after all is said, there will most likely still be those who question the attribution, but embedded among the *Bruce* and *Alexander* parallels as "the occasional illustrative passages" are, it may happen that by some readers the argument for unity of authorship will appear stronger than it really is. For that reason it seems desirable to look at the examples separately to judge of their value. They are few in number.

Troy Book.	*Bruce and Alexander.*
To-morne in the mornynge. 1. 136.	On Sunday than in the mornyng
A litill foroweth the evynnyng. ii. 722.	Weill sone efter the soune rising B. XI. 374.
	A litill forrow the evyn gane. B. V 18.
* * * The grettest	That the mast host and the stoutest
Of all the oost and the myghtyest. 503.	Of Crystendome and ek the best B. XI. 470.
Quhill on the morne that it was day ii. 1758.	Till on the morn that it was day. B. XII. 334. (repeated twice)
	Quhill on the morne that day was licht 118. 15.
* * * his blode	
That streymande out hys body yhoode. ii. 823.	That till the erd doune stremand ȝud B. XII. 559.
That to the erth he maid him go. ii. 2972.	That to the ground he gart him go. A. 74. 8.
Full odyous in hys hert he was. 1460.	Richt angry in his hert he was. B. 999. 64.
The Legends.	
Apone the morne it wes Sounday. xviii. 199.	Upone the morne on Mononday. A. 21.
Weill soyn efter the soune rising x. 1. 374.	Ane lytill before the sone rysing A. 347. 29.
And straik the sted with spuris sa xxv. 747.	Thai strak the horss & in gret hy B. XX. 457.
	Than with the spuris he strak the steid B. VI. 226.
Thai fled fast and durst nocht byd	Thai fled and durst nocht byde no mar B. XII. 135.
Thane on the morne quhen it wes day. xiii. 168. (repeated three times)	And on the morn quhen day wes licht. B. XIV.
	Till on the morn that day wes lycht. B. X. 467.
And quhen the day beguth to daw xviii. 879.	In the dawyng.
	Rycht as the day begouth to spryng B. VII. 313.
That sall be scharp & rycht weill grondine I. 855.	With speris that war scharp to scher,
	And axis that weill grundin wer B. XII. 519.
That mycht bene hard quha had bene by 1. 38.	Men mycht haf seyn quha had beyn thair B. V.
Al that it ourtuk wald sla. xxxiii. 71.	And slew all that thai mycht ourta B. XIII. 9. (Five times repeated.)

And this quelis seit sall be sua That of thame twa aganis twa Sal alwayis turne in contrare cours I. 847.	For twa contraris ȝhe may wit wele Set agane othir on a quhele
A, God, that al has for to steir XXI. 279.	The grace of God that all thing steres B. XI. 277.
His ferme hope in hym setand That has to stere bath se and land XXVII. 481.	
Of Jesu Criste that al can stere XI. 151.	
Lowyt fast God of his bounte XXV. 471.	And lovit God fast of his grace. B. XIV. 311.
And hardy was of hart & hand XL. 819.	That hardy was off hart and hand. B. 1. 28.
Sic sorow in his hart has tane XXXIII. 760. (twice nearly repeated)	Sic anger was at his hart I wis. A. 386. 3.
In gret joy and angel gle (nearly repeated thrice)	Harbreid with Angellis gle. A. 21. 16.
Sene first he made Adam of clay XXXII. 531.	For sen that God Adam wrocht. A. 395. 23.

These are the specimens, carefully selected, from the *Troy Book* and *Legends*, two works offering 36000 lines for comparison with the 27000 lines of the *Bruce* and *Alexander*. What a poor result surely! But when the examples are examined in detail who will say that they help the argument for common authorship in the very least degree? They are the merest commonplaces, without exception, which every poet or poetaster might have used, and in point of fact did use, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. I fail to see how they even suggest, much less prove, common authorship. Without comment I offer a few parallels from *The Wallace*. It will be borne in mind that the *Bruce*, *Alexander*, *Legends* and *Troy Book* are in octosyllabic, the *Wallace* in decasyllabic metre.

Upone the morn quhen that the day was lycht. III. 423.
Upone the morne quhen it was dayis lycht. IV. 326.
Be this the day approchit wondir neir. VIII. 353.
The brycht day dew. VIII. 86.
Quhill lycht day on the morne. XI. 693.
Tomorne quhen that the day is lycht. X. 509.
Fra rysing of the son. IX. 1062.
In till his hart he was gretlye agast. V. 198.
The Tewsday next to fetch * * VII. 1146.
On Sattirday on to the brig * * * VII. 1147.
Defendand him, quhen fell stremys of blude. X. 250.
Dede with that dynt to the erd down him draiff. V. 9.
Mony to erd thaim dang. VIII. 800.
The grounden sper throuch his body schar. 1. 146.

Wappyns grunden kene. X. 27.
Quhom thai ourtuk agayn harmit nocht. IX. 9786.
Quhom he ourtuk agayn raiss nevir mair. VII. 1804.
Thus wrandly thai held thaim upon ster. IV. 644.
* * * that mydward had to ster. V. 920.
That but a kyng tuk sic a rewm to ster. VIII. 1630.

While wishful to hold the *St. Machar* and perhaps two others to be by John Barbour, the bulk of the Legends in my opinion, comes from another and later hand, more probably from several hands.[1] The *Troy Book* I incline to regard as Barbour's. That wider question, however, is not under discussion now; it is enough for the present to direct attention to the paucity and at the same time the poverty of the examples relied on by Barbour's latest champion.

Let us consider now, very briefly, the grounds of the attribution to Barbour of the *Alexander*. Granting that that poem and *The Bruce* are closely related, how is the relation explainable? The *Bruce* was finished in 1375, the *Alexander* in 1438, that is to say if we accept the plain intimations of the colophons. I agree that the resemblances between these two poems cannot be due to a translator of 1438 having, in rendering the French, copied from *The Bruce*. I have already sufficiently discussed that question. But a clear issue between Mr. Neilson and myself is raised by two other possible explanations, vizt. (1) Redaction of *The Bruce* after 1438 by some one who embodied in course of his so editing that poem many lines from the *Alexander*; which I maintain; or (2) that the date 1438 is an error, the resemblances between the *Alexander* and *The Bruce* being incompatible with separate authorship; which is my friend's thesis. His position cannot be stated better than in his own words; "credentialled beyond the attack of rational scepticism *The Bruce* stands as a fact of 1376 which cannot be moved; but its relations with the

[1] Dr. Metcalf's reasons for holding the Legends to be of composite authorship are stated at length in his edition for the S. T. Society, Introd. XXX. With these I concur generally. Those who have had the patience to read the entire collection from beginning to end will probably feel more respect for their own achievement than for that of the poetasters who wrote the Legends. As the nursery books of Europe they have no doubt a certain documentary value.

Alexander are impossible for an *Alexander* not written till 1438, unless indeed John Barbour rose from his grave to write it?" Now, I hold as strongly as any one can, that John Barbour's authentic text was finished in 1375; but I utterly deny that its relation to the Alexander is explainable by the theory of common authorship. Any such conclusion is possible only by deduction from data wholly inadequate, because quite imperfect, and consequently misleading. To determine the question at issue careful account must be taken not only of *The Wallace* but also of the poems attributed, in the Ashmole Ms. and elsewhere, to Rate; but that all important investigation Mr. Neilson has completely overlooked. Having arrayed his parallels he hastily concludes that the relationship can only be explained by common authorship. He begins by noticing the two descriptions of May in the *Alexander* and the two similar passages in *The Bruce*, adding this comment "there are in the *Alexander* only two descriptions of May both, as shewn, remarkable as departing from the normal metre of the poem and systematically, to the extent of 17 lines out of 23, combining rime and alliteration. Why? *The Bruce* also has only two descriptions of May (that of Ver is truly of May) remarkable as departing from the normal metre and to the extent of 13 lines out of 22 combining alliteration and rime. Why? Were the answer not so clear it might be deemed too adventurous to offer for a century so remote an absolute pronouncement, but facts compel the hazard, if hazard it be called. The reason was because the author of the *Alexander* and the author of the *Bruce* alike knew the alliterative *Destruction of Troy* * * *. Else how comes it that identical alliterations from the descriptions of the month of May in the latter reappear in both *Alexander* and *Bruce*?" The answer to the question wrapped up in that comment is easy. It is this. Because John Ramsay who knew the *Gest Historiale of the Destruction of Troy* and the *Alexander* well, when editing and embellishing the *Bruce*, used both poems in composing the two May passages which he inserted in the Barbour text. In composing *The Wallace* he used the identical sources for the two parallel descriptions (B. viii. 1183, and B. ix. 3), and it is most noticeable that while both descriptions in the *Alexander* are of the merry month of May, in the *Bruce* one

is of Ver and the other of May. So also in *The Wallace* one is of April and the other of May.[1]

Let us proceed now to some other parallels. In this postscript I am reluctant to reprint more specimens than are absolutely necessary; by a selection, indeed, it will be possible to shew that Ramsay not only used the *Alexander* in embellishing the *Bruce*, but likewise in composing *The Wallace*. I choose for illustration the longest and most characteristic of the parallel passages of *The Alexander* and *The Bruce*, adding another from *The Wallace* quite overlooked by Mr. Neilson.

The Alexander. 318. 17.

1. *Forthy I pray ilk man that he*
Nocht covetous na ȝarnand be
To tak na riches that they wald,
Bot wyn of deidly fais the fald.
Fra thay be winnin all, wit ȝe weill,
The gudis ar ouris ever ilk deill;
And I quyteclame ȝow uterly
Baith gold and sylver halely
And all the riches that thairis is.

Bruce's Address. XII. 303.

2. And I pray ȝhow als, specially
Both mor and less all comonly,
That nane of ȝow for gredynes
Haf e til tuk of thair richess.
Na presoners ȝeit for till ta
Quhill ȝhe se thame cumrayit swa
That the feld planly ouris be;
And than at ȝour liking may ȝe
Tak all the richess that thar is.

The French Text.

3. Et pour Deu biau *seigneurs ne soit nus entendis*
A nul gaaing qui soit ne du leur *convoitis*.
Ains conquérons le champ contre nos ennemis
Quant il sera vaincus li avoirs iert conquis
Et je le vous quit tout et en fais et en dis
L'onneur en voel avoir le remanant vous quis.

Wallace's Address. VI. 515.

4. Wallace *gert sone the chyftanis till him call;*
This chairge he gaiff for chance that mycht befall.
Till tak no heid to geir, nor off pylage
Wyne fyrst the men, the gudis syne ye may haiff;
Than tak na tent off covatys to craiff.
Throuch covatys sum losis gud and lyff
I commaund yow forber sic in our stryff.
Luk that ye saiff na lord, capteyn, nor knycht.
For worschipe wirk, and for our eldris rycht.

[1] It may be noted that in the *Sowdone of Babylone* there is mention also of Vere:

l. 963. In the semely seson of the yere
Of softenesse of the sonne
In the prymsauns of grene vere
When floures spryngyn and bygynne,
And all the floures in the frith
Freshly shews here kynde.

Manifestly the author of the *Alexander* translation derived his rendering from the French text: the lines, again, in the *Bruce* are a paraphrase of the Scottish translation; while the *Wallace* passage comes primarily from *The Alexander*, translation, but evidences knowledge of the French text and is slightly reminiscent too of *The Bruce*. That example furnishes an excellent explanation of the *Bruce* lines and besides, illustrates Ramsay's mode of working. Can we not truly say that like a mole he burrowed into his material, throwing up the surface in such a way as rarely to leave us in doubt where he had been at work.

Now, the lesson of these parallel passages is plain enough, is it not? A Scottish poet in 1437 — I believe David Rate — translated certain episodes of the *Alexander* romance from the French, sometimes abridging, sometimes expanding his original. He was well acquainted with, and slightly used as a source the *Gest Historiale* for embellishing his translation. Some thirty five years later another Scottish poet, John Ramsay, Sir John the Ross, wishful to improve the plain song of John Barbour, used the translation of the *Alexander* extensively, taking freely whatever he required. Ramsay may have known the French text, but there is not a trace of evidence in any of his renderings of the *Alexander* translation that he did, at the time when he embellished the *Bruce*.[1] Simply he plagiarised: never dreaming probably that his act was theftuous. We must judge him by the standard of earlier centuries than our own. Even so late as the 17th. century a celebrated poet was not ashamed thus to advise — "if you wish to pluck some flowers on Helicon so manage it that burel-folk do not notice it and so that it do not too palpably attract the attention of the learned." By translating or copying of masterpieces, says the same authority, "one observes the art of the best masters and learns, dexterously pilfering, to make another's one's own."[2]

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[1] There is in *The Wallace* a good deal that suggests a knowledge of French originals. The allusion in the *Bruce* (B. X. 703) to the Siege of Tyre is not a rendering of the *Alexander* translation. That episode is not any part of the Scottish translation of 1438.

[2] *Aanleidinge ter Nederduitsche Dichtkunst*, van Vloten, Vol. ii p. 54, quoted by Edmundson, *Vondel*, Trübner & Co., 1885.

Mr. Neilson is of opinion that the *Gest Historiale* must have been known to Barbour because its influence is discoverable in the *Bruce*. At present my friend and myself represent a small and perhaps feeble minority who believe the *Gest Historiale* to be one of Huchown's poems. By many first rate critics it has been pronounced to belong to about the year 1392. Unless, therefore, these critics are to come round to the Huchown authorship it is manifestly impossible for them to concede that Barbour could have used it in 1375; and yet its influence in *The Bruce* is plain, plain that is to every one who reads with due attention. But, believer as I am in the Huchown attribution, I cannot bring myself to think that Barbour, assuming him to have known the poem, would have ventured to appropriate so openly from one so strictly his contemporary. Even in the early centuries, when plagiarism was rife, a Scot might have borrowed from an Englishman or a Frenchman with impunity, but not readily from a contemporary fellow countryman, and more especially at a time when Scottish literature was in its very infancy. But what is the difficulty of explaining the influence of the *Gest Historiale* in the fifteenth century edition of *The Bruce*? There is none. Ramsay, we know, used that poem as well as *Morte Arthure,* and the *Alexander* translation, when composing the *Wallace.*

The *Troy Book* and *Legends*, one sees, stand altogether outside the charmed circle, uninfluenced by the *Gest Historiale, Morte Arthure*, or *Alexander*. Where they display the merest semblance in phrase or turn of expression either to the *Bruce* or *Alexander* they have their parallels in the *Wallace*; the moment we transplant them to a parterre all their own, they are seen at a glance to belong to that genus of hardy annuals known all the world over as *commonplaces*.

But Mr. Neilson, after arraying his parallel passages, administers a tonic for disbelievers, labelled, "Some special coincidences, which no one will characterise as commonplaces, and which bear particularly on the evidence of authorship."[1]

[1] He notes (1) the words *toga* and *rebours* and (2) the phrase *availze que vailze* but these in the *Bruce* occur in lines directly transferred from the *Alexander* translation. Far more remarkable are words like *apane* in the *Bruce* and *Wallace* (*vide* Professor Skeat's note Vol. ii. 257) and others noted by the editors of the *Gest. Hist.* as common to that poem and the *Wallace* and the *Bruce.*

(1) The rime *mycht, slycht.* At an early stage Mr. Neilson directs attention to the two lines in *The Bruce* 9. 527.

Thai mycht nocht haiff beyn tayne throw mycht
Bot tresoun tuk thaim throw hyr slycht.

and to a passage in the *Troy Book* fragment —

That the Troyiens which with mycht
We ought to have ourcommyne with fycht
We ourcome with fraud and gyle
And machinacions and wyle.

"Something in the rime, something in the contrast" he says, "pleased the poet (i. e. Barbour) and elsewhere he used them both —

Troy frag. 1.405 In the science scho had sic slytht
That throw the science and the mycht
Of hyre exorzizaciouns.

Latin; *qui per vires et modos exorzisacionum nigromanticos.*

Troy frag. 1.515 Notht thane throw the strenth and the mycht
Of hyre enchauntment and hyr slytht.

Latin; *pro sue incantacionis viribus.*

In both these instances the contrast is the poet's. The original has nothing of slycht so that the antithesis is intrusive, an idiosyncrasy of the translator going so far on the way of proof that the lines in the *Bruce* came from Guido by way of the Scots translator. Such a phrase may for critical purposes in determining authorship even rank as a distinguishing feature and test." Admitting that the particular rime is not frequent in the *Alexander* Mr. Neilson then proceeds to illustrate "the extent to which the contrast of 'might' and 'slight' couched in this particular rime is woven into the texture of Barbour." Now, I fail to see anything in the contrasted rimes that suggests common authorship. As I said in an earlier chapter the rimes *slycht, mycht, knycht, fycht, sycht,* &c. are as common as blackberries in the *Bruce, Wallace* and other early poems. The poet of the *Troy Book* translated Guido almost literally — *at Trojanos, quos debuimus in potencia nostra devincere, vincerimus per machinacionis fallacium et per dolum.*" Surely *dolum* is *sleight,* the faculty exercised so powerfully being *the mycht.* There is no call for any comparison with *The Bruce* lines. The same contrasted rimes occur again and again in *The Wallace.* I content myself with these four instances —

W. I. 284. In presence ay scho wepyt undyr slycht
Bot gudely meytis sho graithit him at hyr mycht.
W. VI. 187. This fair woman did besiness and hir mycht
The Inglis men to tary with hir slycht.
W. VIII. 911. And nocht a payn to wyn it be no slycht
The consaill fand it was the best thai mycht.
W. IV. 303. Sumpart be slycht, sum throw force thai slew.

(2) The recurrence of the number *ten*. Mr. Neilson notes ten instances derived from the *Alexander* five of them, intrusions. As specimens of the poet's fondness for the particular number and instances of departure from the French text take these,

Thay of Gaderis war ten times ma. A. 65. 16.
Thair sould nocht ten have gone away. A. 71. 30.
That ay aganes ane war ten. A. 140. 5.

Unless I am mistaken all Britishers have a tendency to use the same figure "I would ten times rather"; "it is ten times better". At any rate Ramsay seems to have been fond of the number also —

Quhill ten thousand vas brocht on to thare dede. VII. 1206.
Within ten days eftir this tyme was gayne. VII. 1271.
To chak the wach Wallace and ten had beyn. VIII. 897.
On the tend day &c. IX. 528.
Than for to se ten thousand cowartis fle. IX. 900.
Ten thousand haill fra thaim with Wallace raid. X 159.
I sall bring ten and for thi nowmir ma. X. 525.
On the tent day &c. X. 749.

(3) Down to earth.

That to the ground he gart him go. A. 74. 8.
And to the erd he gart him ga. A. 390. 25.
And he doun to the erd can ga. A. 411. 6.
And he doun to the erd can ga. Br. VII. 585.

This is another commonplace. The Wallace could furnish a column of the same phrase.

Till dede to grund, but mercy, he him draiff. IV. 90.
Dede with that dint, to the erd doun him draiff. V. 9.
* * to ground rycht derffly dede down he draiff. VII. 310.
* * braithly brocht to grund. VIII. 593.
* * mony to erd thai dang. VIII. 800.
Bruce was at erd or Wallace turned about. X. 369.
* * to grund he duschit doun. X. 387.

(4) By Hewynnis King.

Deir God, said he, be hevinnis king. A. 355. 25
Dear God that is of hevyn king. B. II. 144.
For he that is of hevinnis king. A. 18. 31.
God help us that is mast of mycht. Br. XII. 324.

If these are not to be reckoned commonplaces they are at least not uncommon in early literature. In the Rate poems they abound: "to swear like a Scot" was a French proverb as early as the XIVth century. "The first of these examples" we are told "deserves enshrinement among the curiosities of oaths"; if so, it will be well to observe some parallels in *The Wallace.*

Deir wicht, he said, Deir God sen at thow knew. VII. 286.
Be hewynnis king. I. 86.
Ravenge thair dede, for Goddis saik, at thi mycht. VII. 284.
Sa God of Hewin me saiff.

Ramsay when he came to work at *The Wallace* had made great strides in the art of versification; and by that time also he seems to have increased considerably his collection "of congested oaths" as one might prove by many examples. I spare the gentle reader.

(5) Leech and Medicine. As a medical expression it is another commonplace.

That sall neid as I trow lechyng. Br. XIII. 46.
Thai sal neid I wis leching. A. 42. 15.
He has na mister of medecyne. A. 393. 3.

It occurs in *The Wallace* also.

* * * for leiching wald not let. IX. 1251..

(6) Here are a few other miscellaneous examples.

	The Bruce and *The Alexander.*	*The Wallace.*
Br. XI. 180.	And armys that new burnyst wer.	* * * (infra)
	So blenkyt with the sonnys beyme	The glitterand sone apon thaim schawyt brycht.
	That all the feld was in ane leyme.	The se about enlumynyt with the lycht. IX. 60.
A. 52. 16.	The sone shyne cleir on armouris brycht	Apone the morn quhen that the son raiss brycht. IX. 60.
	Quhill all the land lemit on licht.	The glitterand son upon thaim schawit brycht. IX. 65.
A. 219. 4.	The sone was rysing and schinit bricht.	
Br. VII. 216.	The sone was rysyn schynand bricht.	The sone was rysyne our landis schinand brycht. III. 119.
A. 46. 27.	Armit in armouris gude and fyne.	In gud armour that burnyst was full scheyn. VIII. 1010.
Br. XII. 32.	Armyt in armys gude and fyne.	* * * slew into thair fyn armour. X. 642.
A. 286. 10.	The speris all to-fruschit thare.	The tre to raiff and fruschit eviredeill. II. 52.

Br. XII. 504.	Sic a frusching of speris wair.	The schaft to-schonket off the frushand tre III. 147.
A. 382. 17.	The grene gras wox of blude all rede.	Upon the flowris shot the schonken blude. III. 156 and viii. 226.
A. 236. 25.	That kest fyre as man dois flyntis	Als fersly fled as fyre dois off the flynt. VII. 1216.
	That slew fyre as men dois on flyntis.	Slew fyre on flynt * * * IV. 285.
A. 88. 20.	For to defend all the flearis. And for to stony the chasseris.	Sic a flear before was nevir seyn. Nocht at Gadderis, off Gawdyfer the keyn. Quhen Alexander reskewed the foryours. X. 341.
Br. 111. 81.	For to reskew all the fleieris And for to stonay the chasseris.	
Br. XI. 171.	And quha suld at his brydill be Be at the brydill of the melle.	His brydyll ner assayit * * X. 668. His brydyll turnit * * * VII. 298.

One might go through the lists *seriatim* but it is quite unnecessary to do so. An attentive perusal of *The Wallace* and a judicious use of Dr. Moir's glossary will render further comparison easy if there remain any unbelievers.[1]

And now a word as to a supposed rime specialty in the *Bruce* where the liberty is taken of riming with *yne* a gerund or verbal noun properly spelt and pronounced *yng*. "Such a rime as this" says Mr. Neilson, "found in XIVth. century Scotland might well be reckoned loose to the point of eccentricity." Professor Skeat, who first directed attention to it in *The Bruce* as a departure from the normal *ing*, says "take notice of a remarkable class of words in which the ending *yn* or *yne* (with silent e) represents the modern *ing* at the end of a verbal noun, which is always kept quite distinct from the present participle ending (in Barbour) in *and*." There are in all 14 examples, two of place names, however, which, I agree with Mr. Neilson, fall to be excluded altogether. Now, is it not significant to find that no less than *six* out of a total of twelve of these abnormal rimes occur in, or in closest relationship to, the passages selected as examples of XVth century redaction, while another is found in a passage that I have all along suspected as an interpolation.[2] The passages were cer-

[1] Or better still, an examination of the diction of *The Wallace* with the aid of the excellent glossary of *The Bruce* (S. T. Soc. ed., Skeat).

[2] *Commandyne, syne,* I. 255; *fechtyn, syne,* III. 241; *tyne, tranontyne,* XIX. 693; *syne, welcummyne,* XIX. 793; *welcummyng, kyng,* XIX. 807; *covyne, syne,* XV. 313 (*cowyn* is in *The Bruce* rimed both as *cowyne* and

tainly not chosen on account of the gerundal misrime. And here, by way of parenthesis I would notice the assonance *Carnaverane, lame,*[1] found in the *Bruce* —

That tyme Edward of Carnaverane
The King, wes ded, and laid in lame,

noted by Mr. Neilson as "curious" and compared as regards the uncommon word *"lame"* (loam) with the lines near the close of the *Alexander* colophon —

For quhen ȝe lawe are laid in lame
Than leuis thar nothing bot ane name.

What is to be said for it when we observe that it also is found in a passage challenged as a summary of certain short chapters of Froissart's Chronicles?[2] But to return to the gerundal misrime. I should like to see an examination made of early English poetry. We know that the distinction between the present participle and gerund or verbal noun was confounded in Southern English before 1300 and that in the Northern dialect they were kept distinct from the earliest period till well into the fifteenth century.[3] I rather suspect that the faulty rime originated in England and came gradually to be copied by poets North of the Tweed, who were ever ready to follow an English lead. It is most noticeable that it is in full flower in the *Sowdone of Babylone.* In that poem of only 3274 lines, one of Ramsay's sources both for the *Bruce* and *Wallace*, there are no fewer than eleven examples! That poem as Dr. Hausknecht shews belongs to the beginning of the XVth. century. By 1420 Wyntoun is found using a similar faulty rime (VIII. 5417): another occurs in Rauf Coilzear c. 1440 (60). The novelty apparently attracted Rate, for there

cowyng). *Syne*, *Fichtyne*, occurs again IV. 243 in the passage where Edward's death is mentioned out of place. The story of Earl Ferrand is told at length in the *Scotichronicon* (lib. IX ch. 14 and 18). The whole passage in the *Bruce* from ll. 159 to 335 deserves attention. *Vide* also Wyntoun B. VI ch. 12: and *Vie de Philippe Auguste* by Rigord and Guillaume le Breton.

[1] In the Edinburgh Ms. the rime is with *stane*. *Lame* is only in Hart.

[2] The fact that several of the rimes occur at points in the narrative where Froissart is being used is itself very significant.

[3] Murray pp. 210. Dr. Murray says they were not confounded in Scotland till the XVIth. century. The distinction however was beginning to be confounded fully 50 years earlier.

are ten instances in the *Alexander*; it is later adopted by Holland in the *Howlat* c. 1453 (52. 712), by which time it had apparently taken root in Scotland and was a little later not despised even by really great poets like Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas and Lindsay. Only by a stretch of imagination can it be spoken of as "unique, an integral organic flaw in the rime system of Barbour". Ramsay found it useful, while engaged in the editing of the *Bruce*, when pressed for rimes. By his day, it had come to be tolerated in Scotland. It was present in four of his sources, the *Alexander*, the *Howlat*, Wyntoun's *Cronykil*, and the *Sowdone*. It will be kept in view that (1) Dr Hausknecht points out the Chaucerian sources used in the *Sowdone* to be the *Knightes Tale* and *Queen Anelida and False Arcite*; (2) Mr. T. F. Henderson observes that the identical poems influenced the versification of *The Wallace*; and (3) I have shewn the actual use in *The Wallace* of the same two poems. It is not so difficult, therefore, to explain the gerundal rime in th *Bruce* to be due to redaction of that poem about the middle of the XV. century, as it might be were it found in an undoubted Scottish text prior to 1375.

The manifest relation of *The Wallace* to the *Alexander* translation, and John Ramsay's indisputable connection with both *The Bruce* and *The Wallace*, completely demolish the hypothetical case advanced for Barbour. The experimental programme based merely on a comparison of *The Bruce* and *Alexander* is wholly inadequate. It has misled Mr. Neilson himself, and might easily mislead others not careful to examine the premises. It is nothing short of startling to see with what nimbleness he leaps over any obstacle that blocks the way he would take. Starting with the canon that relationship of *The Bruce* and *Alexander* proves unity of authorship, he then sets about assiduously to edit out of the translation whatever contradicts the proposition. The date 1438 in the *Alexander* colophon he wipes out as with a sponge. Setting his face resolutely against redaction and imagining that Barbour's authorship is proved by pages of parallels from the *Bruce* and *Alexander* he as matter of course is shut up to the contention that the date 1438 must be a misreading or wrong extension, a copyist's mistake or a scribe's deliberate act. Let him speak for himself: "treating 1438 as a scribal or printer's error, one

has no difficulty whatever. This date is the solitary circumstance which stands between: that rectified Barbour infallibly obtains his own by a judgment as assured as any literary verdict ever given. The rectification formidable as at first it looks, is of a truth the removal of a mere bubble obstacle." What we are asked to suppose is that the original manuscript read mccclxxxviii and by miscopying of scribe, or error of printer, became mccccxxxviii. Truly history may become very plastic in the hands of a special pleader. It is, however, rather unfortunate that the amended date 1378 requires us to believe that Barbour before 1375 translated some hundreds of lines of the *Alexander* romance, using them for embellishing *The Bruce*, and three years later while engaged on a complete translation ransacked his earlier work in order to recover the scattered lines and fit them into the translation as the French text required. Any such theory is absolutely incredible. The conjectural emendation of the carefully rimed colophon has not a vestige of evidence to lend it support.

But the date of the colophon exactly fits David Rate. The *Alexander* examined as regards diction and rime, with other Rate poems, responds to every test.[1] In general tone and literary form there is much that designates Rate as the author. Prologue and epilogue and the "amen, amen for charyte" colophon are all present, minor characteristics perhaps, all the same distinct mannerisms of the Rate poems, pointed out years before attention was concentrated on the *Alexander*.

What is there then to be said when the whole argument for the Barbour authorship of the *Alexander* so completely breaks down? Is redaction of *The Bruce* in the XV. century the only reasonable explanation of the relationship between that poem and the *Alexander*? I submit that it is. The postulate of redaction is based primarily on a study of *The Wallace* and grows out of that study. Excluding the *Alexander* translation altogether, redaction of *The Bruce* is proved (1) by *The Bruce* manuscripts themselves, and (2) by collation of *The Bruce* with passages in the works of Huchown, Froissart, Chaucer, Wyntoun and Lydgate, as well as with the anonymous

[1] I am glad to know that an independent examination of all the Rate poems, including the *Alexander*, is now being made by Mr. L. Ostermann, a pupil of Professor Trautmann, and will appear soon.

romance *The Sowdone of Babylone.* That fact alone would bring the *Alexander* into the net. But consider the influence of the *Gest Historiale* and *Morte Arthure* in both the *Bruce* and *The Wallace*; the use of Froissart's *Chronicles* and of Chaucerian works, of Wyntoun's *Cronykil* and Holland's *Howlat,* in both poems; the presence of the *Sowdone* as another source. The trail of Ramsay is too apparent to elude detection. But when we see the *Alexander* unmistakeably used as the model of Bruce's address to his men at Bannockburn, and the identical passage of the Scottish translation again imitated in Wallace's address to his captains before the fictitious battle of Biggar, what proof more absolute, more conclusive, could any one ask for? Seldom indeed in a literary problem is the solution so complete.

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Table of Abbreviations.

Acc. L. H. T. Accounds of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, ed. Thomas Dickson, LL. D. 1877. (Record Publications.)

Allan. The Bridal of Caolchairn by John Hay Allan, cited in Appendix E of Life of Sir William Wallace by John D. Carrick.

Alexander. The Buik of the Most Noble and Vailzeand Conquerour Alexander the Great. (Bannatyne Club 1831.) Quoted by page and line.

Alexander; *Michelant.* Li Romans d'Alixandre, ed. Heinrich Michelant, Stuttgart 1846.

Bain. Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, ed. Joseph Bain, F. S. A. (Scot.). (Record Publications.)

Bann. Ms. The Bannatyne Ms. compiled by George Bannatyne (Hunterian Club publications) 1874.

Bruce. The Bruce, or The Book of the Most Excellent and Noble Prince Robert de Broyss, King of Scots, compiled by Master John Barbour. Ed. Rev. Professor Walter W. Skeat, 1894. (Scottish Text Society.)

Brut. Le Roman de Brut, par Wace, ed. Le Roux de Lincy Rouen, 1836.

Bute. The early days of Sir William Wallace by John, Marquess of Bute, 1876.

Campbell. Popular Tales of the West Highlands; J. F. Campbell.

Chaucer. The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, ed. Rev. Professor Walter W. Skeat. (Clarendon Press 1894.)

Darmesteter. Froissart, Mary Darmesteter (Les Grands Écrivains), Paris 1894.

Dempster. Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, Thomas Dempster. (Bannatyne Club Publications, ed. David Irving, 1829.)

Dunbar. The Poems of William Dunbar, ed. John Small, LL. D. (Scot. Text Society 1893.)

Dunlop. History of Fiction. (Edn. Edinburgh 1816.)

Ellis. On Early English Pronunciation, A. J. Ellis. (E. E. T. Socy. 1869.)

Eng. Stud. Englische Studien, ed. Eugen Kölbing, Leipzig.

Excheq. Rolls. The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland. (Record Publications.)

Fordun. Johannis de Fordun Chronica Gentis Scotorum, ed. W. F. Skene. (Historians of Scotland.)

Froissart. Les Chroniques de Froissart. (Collection des Chroniques Nationales Françaises, ed. J. A. Buchon, 1824.) Quoted by Chapter.
— See Darmesteter.
— See Lettenhove.
Gest Historiale. The Gest Historiale of the Destruction of Troy, ed. Panton & Donaldson. (E. E. T. Socy.)
Gologras. The Knightly Tale of Gologras & Gawane, and other Ancient Poems, ed. David Laing, 1827.
Hailes. The Annals of Scotland, by Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes.
Hamilton. The Life & Heroic Achievements of Sir William Wallace, by William Hamilton of Gilbertfield, 1722.
Henderson. Scottish Vernacular Literature, A. succinct History, T. F. Henderson, 1898.
Herford. Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar, ed. C. H. Herford. (Macmillan & Co.)
Hermann. Untersuchungen über das schottische Alexanderbuch, Dr. Albert Hermann, Berlin 1893.
Hill Burton. The History of Scotland; John Hill Burton, D. C. L.
Howlat. Scottish Alliterative Poems, ed. J. F. Amours. (Scot. T. Society.)
Jehan le Bel. Les Vrayes Chroniques de Messire Jehan le Bel, ed. L. Polain, Bruxelles 1863.
Koeppel. Lydgate's Story of Thebes: Eine Quellenuntersuchung, Emil Koeppel, München 1884.
Laing. Early Popular Poetry of Scotland, ed. David Laing, revised by W. Carew Hazlitt, 1895.
Lettenhove. Le Premier Livre des Chroniques de Jehan Froissart texte inedit publie d'apres un Ms. de la Bibliothèque du Vatican, M. le Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, Bruxelles 1863.
Malory. Le Morte Darthur, by Syr Thomas Malory, ed. Dr. H. Oskar Sommer, 1889.
Major. The History of Greater Britain, John Major, ed. Constable. (Scottish Hist. Society Vol. X.)
Mandeville. The Voiage and Travayle of Sir John Mandeville Knight, ed. Ashton, 1887.
Maxwell. Robert the Bruce, by Sir Herbert Maxwell, 1897.
Murray. The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland. J. A. H. Murray. (Philological Society Transactions, London 1872.)
Michelant. See Alexander.
M. A. Morte Arthure or the Death of Arthur, ed. Edmund Brock. (E. E. T. Society 1865.)
Orosius. Orosius, Henry Sweet. (E. E. T. Society.)
Polonus. Martinus Polonus, Opera, ed. Suffridus, Antwerp. 1574.
Reg. Mag. Sig. The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland. (Record Publications.)
Robertson. The Records of the Parliament of Scotland, ed. W. Robertson. (Record Publications, cancelled volume.)
Saintsbury. Flourishing of Romance and Rise of Allegory, Professor George Saintsbury, 1897.

Scalacr. Scalacronica, by Sir Thomas Gray, Knt. ed. Joseph Stevenson. (Maitland Cub Publications 1835.)

Scot. Antiq. The Scottish Antiquary, ed. J. H. Stevenson, M. A., F. S. A.

Scotichr. Joannes de Fordun, Scotichronicon cum supplementis ac continuatione, Walteri Boweri, cura Walteri Goodall, 1759.

Sibbald. De Gestis Illustrissimi Herois Gulielmi Vallae, Scotiae olim Custodis, Collectanea Varia. Edinburgh 1705.

Sowdone. The Romance of the Sowdone of Babylone and of Ferumbras his Sone who conquered Rome, ed. Dr. Emil Hausknecht. (E. E. T. S. 1871.)

Trautmann. Der Dichter Huchown und seine Werke by Dr. Moritz Trautmann. (Anglia 1 Band 1877.)

Tytler. The History of Scotland, Patrick Fraser Tytler, edn. 1843.

Wallace. The Actis and Deidis of the Illustere and Vailzeand Campioun Schir William Wallace, Knicht of Ellerslie, ed. James Moir, M. A. (Scot. T. Society.)

— See Hamilton.

W. P. Documents illustrative of Sir William Wallace, his Life and Times, ed. Joseph Stevenson (Maitland Club Publications 1841) cited generally as W. P. = *Wallace Papers*.

Warton. History of English Poetry. (Edn. Murray & Son, 1870.)

Wyntoun. The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland by Andrew of Wyntoun, ed. David Laing. (Historians of Scotland 1872.)

